UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

WORK AND FAMILY ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF BARRIERS AND RESISTANCE

BY

DEBORAH CECELIA HURST

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

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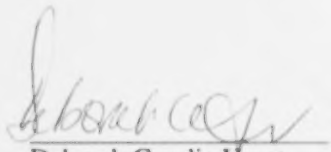

Deborah Cecelia Hurst

11046 84th Ave.,
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 0V7

August 15 1996

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Work and Family Organizational Change: A Case Study of Barriers and Resistance submitted by Deborah Cecelia Hurst in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Supervisor
GRAHAM LOWE

Committee Member
HARVEY KRAHN

Committee Member
JUDITH GOLEC

Committee Member
C.R. HININGS

Committee Member
KAY STRATTON-DEVINE

Dr. Christine Oliver
School of Business
York University

May 7, 1996

For Ryan and Stephanie,

my source of inspiration and
hope for the future.

ABSTRACT

This research examines how a Canadian public organization, known as Public Service, attempts to produce work and family change. Participatory action research is used to create a meaningful work and family program for organizational participants. I argue that work and family change requires a fundamental and transformative change to an organization's cultural assumptions, referred to here as underlying interpretive schemes. Underlying interpretive schemes contain assumptions about the separation of work and family into public and private spheres, and appropriate gender roles. Organizations appear to seek transformative second-order change through first-order means, producing superficial changes. Work and family program failure is due to the lack of depth in implementation, directly reflecting the lack of legitimacy surrounding work and family issues as a viable impetus for change. Lack of legitimacy stems from the indirect relationship work and family issues have to the organization's economic performance, the legitimate impetus for change. Because I am interested in why change was not being taken seriously, or implemented ineffectively, I look at what supported and blocked Public Service's attempt to produce work and family change. I begin with a description of an ideal family-friendly organizational archetype and use it to assess the work and family program. I found Public Services' change efforts to be minimal. I then compared Public Service to other Organizations claiming to be family-friendly. I found that Public Service's successes were limited at best. To understand the barriers to change more directly, I moved on to look specifically at how ideological barriers were embedded in the values and management behaviours at Public Service. Not only did I consider how the barriers prevented change from occurring, but how Public Service may have been able to get beyond the barriers, had they wanted to do so through deinstitutionalization. Finally, I examined the nature of the underlying patriarchal assumptions producing the barriers described. I considered how the barriers worked to perpetuate the continued separation of work and family, public and private spheres of activity, and specific gender role behaviours. This project contributes to organizational change theories by suggesting a new theoretical framework to study work and family change that begins with a feminist deconstruction of underlying interpretive schemes, suggests action to deinstitutionalize interpretive schemes, then tracks the change of both organizational structures and underlying interpretive schemes. In addition to the contribution to extant theories of organizational change, this project provides insights for strategic human resources management by providing a feminist critique of the existing approaches. Finally, I contribute practically by providing information to organizations embarking on work and family change projects.

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Thank you!

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LIST OF ACRONYMS USED

ADM	Assistant Deputy Minister
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CHRD	Corporate and Human Resources Division
DM	Deputy Minister
FF	Family Friendly
HR	Human Resources
HRP	Human Resources - Personnel
PAR	Participatory Action Research Team
WC	Women's Committee
WF	Work and Family

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WORK AND FAMILY ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF BARRIERS AND RESISTANCE

Some people see things as they are and say "Why?"
I dream of things that never were and say "Why not?"
Robert Kennedy

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

This dissertation is about one organization's failed attempt to produce work and family (WF) integration. I am concerned with the factors that supported the attempt, as well as the institutionalized barriers that prevented meaningful WF change. I specifically focus on producing change to deeply rooted underlying ideas manifest in the organization's culture that perpetuate the continued separation of WF. In addition, I examine how embedded ideas, play out in values supported and managerial approaches behaviourally displayed.

I argue that meaningful WF change often does not occur because the changes implemented are most often modest adjustments to surface structures and programs. Little effort appears to be spent on trying to get to the core of ideas preventing meaningful change in many cases because WF is not considered a legitimate reason to change in a work organization. Where WF is not clearly or directly connected to organizational performance issues, it is an issue concerned with change to social values that does have a huge impact on organizational performance, albeit, indirectly realized. For this reason, I argue that WF issues are not directly related to organizational effectiveness and therefore are defined outside of what constitutes a legitimate organizational change issue in many cases. Hence the lack of substantial resources committed to produce deeper or more fundamental change.

Despite growing interest in WF issues within organizations, changes directed toward alleviating WF strain have been few, and the successes among such initiatives fewer still (MacBride King, 1990; Duxbury et.al., 1992). The reasons for this lack of success are numerous. Lack of success is related to limitations in how programs are planned and implemented, how target groups are determined, and the degree of importance that WF issues are awarded. New WF programs are often merely minor operational adjustments or variations in work routines within a given system. Rarely do WF programs constitute a change to the system itself. There appears to be little or no recognition that bringing about real change in the WF domain requires changing deeply held beliefs about "appropriate" gender roles and the separation of public and private spheres of activity which underpin much of organizational behaviour and structure.

WF change requires a fundamental change to underlying assumptions regarding; 1)the separation of WF into public and private spheres of activity and 2) the notion that men primarily focus on the public sphere and women on the private sphere. I call these underlying assumptions interpretive schemes that operate within an organization's culture (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988; Bartunek, 1984, Ranson et.al., 1980), using the term interpretive schemes rather than simply culture because the former concept lends greater conceptual and theoretical clarity. Interpretive schemes may be defined as a uniform set of enduring beliefs, traditions and practices resident in shared fundamental beliefs about why events happen as they do and how people are expected to act within given situations. These interpretive schemes regarding WF continue to exist largely unchallenged within organizations and within theories of organizations.

The assumptions behind the separation of work and family stem from historically created ideas in early industrialization regarding the ideal male breadwinner, his dependent family

and the family wage (Cockburn, 1991). This WF separation perpetuates the artificial separation of public/private spheres and perceptions about traditional male and female occupations. The WF separation also provides a way for managers to define what issues are legitimate or illegitimate for the organization. To understand the lack of change in the area of WF programs, or, where they do exist, their limited success, it is therefore important, to examine how the organization's structures, behaviours and ideas operate to block or support WF change. It is precisely the embedded ideas in both behaviour and structure that provide the main source of resistance to meaningful change.

I arrive at the above line of argument in the following way: (1) WF programs tend not to be successful because they attempt meaningful or "real" change through minor operational adjustments or variations. The difference between real change and minor adjustments is defined in a later chapter as the difference between change at the second and first order levels respectively. First-order change refers to minor adjustments in structures and/or practices such as allowing working parents more flexibility in their work schedules. These minor adjustments do not, however, fundamentally change underlying ideas or beliefs regarding the inappropriateness of family concerns in the workplace. Levels of change will be more precisely defined in Chapter 2. (2) Theories of organization change help us to understand how deep and meaningful second-order change may be accomplished to structures, ideas and beliefs, but do not accept WF conflicts as a legitimate basis for undertaking such changes. I argue that the organization theories of change that promote the economic success of the organization are limited to change of the first- order. Second-order change challenges the basic premise regarding just what constitutes legitimate change. I argue that WF change may/may not impact economic performance of the organization since its legitimacy is predicated on social justice, specifically the ascendancy of social values as in the case of WF. 3) Deinstitutionalization theory allows us to get at the concepts beneath managerial consciousness and identify the assumptions evident in practice and theory. To

challenge taken-for-granted rules regarding the economic impetus needed for an organization to legitimately consider change, we must move to deinstitutionalization theory. With deinstitutionalization we see how non-economic issues for producing change are incorporated and how second-order changes to the interpretive schemes necessary to support WF interaction may still be brought about.

The research reported in this dissertation focuses on one WF organizational change project in a public service organization referred to here as Public Service. With case study data, I consider the planning, implementation and evaluation phases of a WF project. My purpose is to critically assess the project, examining the factors that support and/or impede meaningful WF organization change. To make sense of the data collected, I use selected organizational theories of change to develop my own theoretical framework. First, I contribute to organization theory by extending organizational analysis to consider WF issues as integral organizational concerns. Second, I contribute to feminist theory by examining WF issues within the boundaries of organization change theories and through the experiences of one work organization. Third, I make practical suggestions regarding the effective implementation of WF programs in organizations.

1.2. WHY WF ISSUES ARE IMPORTANT FOR WORK ORGANIZATIONS

This section documents why WF issues are significant for organizations. In 1984, the Royal Commission report on Equality in Employment identified childcare and WF issues as important considerations for achieving women's equality in employment (Abella, 1984). At the 1989 Annual Conference of First Ministers, it was noted that the integration of WF responsibility, that is reconsidering the public/private separation and allowing that the two be integrated, was key to meeting the Government of Canada's 1985 commitment to

economic equality for women. The central societal role played by the family was emphasized, and, by extension, the importance of the interrelationship between WF, given the profound impact that changes in one area can have on the other. Organizations were challenged to take the needs of employees with dependents into account. Recommendations were made at the 1989 Annual Conference of First Ministers (Minister Responsible for the Status of Women, 1989) to promote changes in attitudes, programs, services and legislation to accommodate worker's needs. This highly-powered endorsement made at the Annual Conference of First Ministers gives voice to increasing social pressures and changing WF issues experienced by Canadian working people.

1.2.1 Workforce Changes

WF issues have become important for government and work organizations to consider as a result of the demographic changes to the workforce. In 1994, 59% of women worked outside of the home, compared to 53% in 1988 and 41% in 1975 (Statistics Canada, 1994; Parliament, 1989). Women now constitute 45% of the total labour force, up from 36% in 1975 (Ghalam, 1993). The largest increase (57%) occurred among women with children less than 6 years of age (Ghalam, 1993; Statistics Canada, 1991; Parliament, 1989).

A substantial proportion of the growth in female participation in the labour force is part-time employment (Parliament, 1989). Parliament (1989) finds that the reasons provided for part-time participation include: not wanting to work full-time (41%), personal or family responsibilities (12%), could only find part-time work (24%) or going to school (22%).

Among those women employed full-time, many occupy female-dominated jobs, which means less net income and limited job security and/or career opportunity. In 1991, 71% of women were employed in female-dominated jobs such as teaching, nursing, clerical, sales,

and service jobs, as compared to 30% of men in these same jobs. The single largest female occupational group is clerical workers, accounting for 29% of all women working (Ghalam, 1993). Some women occupy professional occupations; for example 27% of doctors and dentists are women, up from 18% in 1982. Yet, women still constitute 87% of nurses and other medical assistants (Ghalam, 1993; Shea, 1990). Further, employed (full-time, full-year) women earn substantially less than their male counterparts. They earn 70% of the male wage, only a slight increase from 64% in 1981 (Ghalam, 1993) . In short, occupational gender segregation persists on the whole, despite some important gains in specific occupations.

1.2.2 Family Changes

All of these labour force and demographic changes have affected the nature of the Canadian family. The majority of Canadian families today (62%) are dual-earner families, compared to 32% in 1967 (Ghalam, 1993; Hyland, 1990; Paris, 1989). Female single-parent households are also on the rise, comprising 13% of the workforce, up from 8% in 1966. Female single-parent families are also more likely to be low income families (Oderkirk and Lochhead, 1992; Moore, 1988). Traditional families (male breadwinners, female homemakers and their children) thus represent a small and declining percentage of Canadian families (Ghalam, 1993).

1.2.3 Work and Family Challenges

Dual-earner household and single parent households understandably have different challenges than idealized traditional families regarding the integration of WF life. Household tasks that were once considered the private domain of the female homemaker are still being done in most cases by women, whether or not they are also employed full-time outside the home. Although more males report participation in household tasks and childcare (Hall, 1990; Paris, 1989), many women working for pay have not found relief

from their traditional tasks of housework and childcare (Marshall, 1990; Parliament, 1989). As Hochschild (1989) notes, compared to men, women work an extra week of 24-hour days each year. This role assignment reflects deeply rooted assumptions in Western culture about women's appropriate gender roles. The resulting role-overload sets many women up for a self-fulfilling prophecy regarding their lessened ability to cope and perform within the male world of work. While some overcome the overload problem and perform well in the workplace (Bielby and Bielby, 1988), this is often achieved only at great personal cost. Clearly, taking exclusive responsibility for childcare, husband-care, and housework in addition to a demanding paid job is a very difficult job (Cockburn, 1991).

WF integration presents very real problems. Fully 71% of dual-earner families experience stress and strain due to work and family integration pressures. At particular risk are parents, most often women, who report missing work due to childcare concerns and/or family responsibility (Paris, 1989). In 1991, 11% of women in dual-earner two-parent families with children less than 6 years of age missed an average of 5.2 days of work per year for family related absences (Ghalam, 1993; Akyeampong, 1992).

Employers recognize the interdependency of employees' WF experiences and the effect on the workplace by pointing out increased levels of absenteeism, particularly among those employees who have pre-school aged children. They cite reduced productivity, high turnover and low levels of morale (Paris, 1989; Kamerman and Kingston, 1982; Friedman, 1983). Such impacts have far-reaching cost implications for Canadian work organizations, especially given the need to increase productivity to compete in international markets. Given these competitive pressures, organizations say that they need highly committed individuals who are willing and able to produce measurable positive effects (Lero et.al., 1994). Many organizational leaders today state that "people" are the most important organizational resource. However, since WF has moved onto the agenda, the downsizing

and organizational restructuring of the last several years has put more responsibility and work on existing staff. Such downsizing and restructuring is likely to make WF balancing more difficult than ever, especially for women.

In response to potential WF conflicts, a small number of employers do offer innovative and flexible WF benefits through their Human Resources (HR) departments (Betcherman, 1994; Hyland, 1990; Stillman and Bowen, 1986). These WF programs/benefits are considered an Human Resource (HR) responsibility, as the issues involved are internal matters pertaining to the organization's employees. Paris (1989) notes that the impetus for implementing WF programs comes from U.S. employer reports that find WF programs can be cost-effective (Levine, 1989; Meires, 1989; Axel, 1982). Paris' argument rests predominantly on economic or bottom-line organizational performance rationale. She believed that WF programs and benefits must be implemented with careful attention to the organization's financial and time costs. According to Paris (1989), managers monitor the pay-back of such programs by measuring improvements in employee attendance and productivity. Examples of existing employer benefits and programs include family leave, flexible work schedules, on-site childcare, sick childcare services, relocation assistance and information regarding services in the community (Hyland, 1990; Lero et.al., 1994). Although some support for this approach exists, it does not appear to be widely accepted. The above authors lend legitimacy to WF issues by showing the linkages between WF and economic and performance concerns. But the legitimacy of this connection remains inconclusive and therefore not embraced. What remains is the embedded idea that places WF issues in separate public and private spheres of activity. In translation this means that it remains inappropriate to bring family concerns into the workplace.

Even where equal opportunity or employment equity programs are in place, defined as programs and policies developed to deal successfully with the complex realities of

discrimination in employment (Agocs, 1992) and related WF programs that allow for the incorporation and accommodation of parent's needs, there may be barriers and active prevention of access to them (Cockburn, 1991). For example, employees may be reluctant to take advantage of programs due to their fear of being perceived as less serious careerists (MacBride King, 1990). In a Conference Board of Canada study, (MacBride King, 1990) respondents provided evidence of barriers. For example, "I do not have children yet, but I am planning on it within a few years. Professional women in this company are looked down upon if they want to or have to (especially due to illness) spend time with their children. They are regarded as not (being) serious about their careers." Others noted experiences of outright discrimination experienced by those interested in WF programs: "I would like to see a change in attitude towards employees with family problems. As it is, employees tend to hide (family) problems from management for fear that admission of such problems would cause repercussions at work" (MacBride King, 1990).

These quotations reveal some employees' experiences of embedded cultural assumptions regarding WF in work organizations. Notions of the ideal worker, the illegitimacy of family issues in the workplace and the assumption regarding women's role in the home appear in many organizational cultures, operating policies and procedures.

Although some men, especially younger, more highly educated men, are also interested in work and family integration (Hall, 1990), it is still overwhelmingly women who experience the difficulty of combining WF and making the difficult choices regarding family or career. This represents a serious concern among employees who believe that managers should be sensitive to WF demands, particularly on women, and to the realities of a modern lifestyle where many women work and still perform the lion's share of household work (Devereaux, 1993; Hochschild, 1989).

Among those women who do take advantage of WF programs, other problems like the perception of a "mommy track" arise (Schwartz, 1989). Being on the mommy track means that women are perceived as putting their families first and their careers second. These women are dismissed as being less serious about their careers then are their male counterparts (Cockburn, 1991). Other women still on the career track may forego family, put their careers first and opt for the traditional male organizational role. However, even when actively on a career track, some women face assumptions about their childbearing ability interfering. In fact, there may be traditional men who feel angry with career track women for "cheating" by remaining single or childless, thus giving them an advantage. Some men appear more comfortable with women who are engaged in "the double day" because due to their overloaded state, these women present less of a threat to men. This choice limitation can pit groups of women against each other - those who are interested in career and those in family. It assumes that women cannot be interested in both. For women and men to escape the separation of WF, some believe that men need to be domesticated and the rhythm and timing of the workplace adapted to outside life (Cockburn, 1991).

It is my position that both male and female employees stand to benefit from a family-friendly organization. The assumption of choice between WF or public and private roles also adversely affects men. Men who want to play a more active role in family matters must also consider the difficulty of the "invisible daddy track" (Hall, 1990). In the 1991 Alberta Public Service Work and Family Survey, 49% of male respondents report that the combined demands of work and family are stressful (Alberta Public Service, 1991). Hall (1990:8) notes that men keep quiet about balancing their WF lives because they want to be seen as "dedicated careerists." Men perceive that they cannot or should not take time out of the working day to spend on childcare so that when they do so, it is in nonpublic ways; however, men appear to take more time for eldercare (McKinnon, 1993). Men perceive

that their careers will be negatively affected by WF issues and that they will be seen as "some sort of funny guy" (Hall, 1990). But not all men are hiding from WF issues. There is growing male support for new forms of work and family friendly organizations (Friedlander, 1994; Hall, 1990).

Contributing further to employees' reluctance to participate in WF programs, is the nature of program wording and interpretation. WF programs often are broadly and vaguely defined, opening up the possibility of arbitrary interpretation by managers and/or supervisors. For example, an employee may know that job sharing is officially sanctioned, but see it being unofficially discouraged by local management. This is particularly problematic for employees in need of such programs. For this reason, WF programs can exist officially, but, unofficially be discouraged or unavailable due to managerial discretion.

Dual-earner families are under enormous stress due to conflicting WF demands (Statistics Canada, 1994). This is particularly problematic when dealing with inflexible employers. In such cases something has to give, such as time for leisure, for spouse or friends or simply sleep, leading to burnout and high turnover (Hall, 1990). Employer perceptions regarding lack of career commitment among those who have WF integration issues and select WF options, acts to further compound the problem. Such perceptions of dual-earner parents may make it more difficult to gain access to career opportunities (Baron, Mittman and Newman, 1991; Dex and Shaw, 1986).

Although some organizations have implemented WF and related employment equity programs and benefits, there is a growing disillusionment regarding the level of organizational commitment to such programs and their overall quality. Most work-family programs to date have had limited success in alleviating the strains associated with WF integration pressures (MacBride King, 1990; Duxbury, et.al., 1992). Baron, Mittman and

Newman (1991) report several studies documenting similar and related problems. They found extensive, continuing segregation of women into less privileged jobs, firms and industries despite Equal Opportunity programs in the U.S. or Employment Equity programs in Canada. Dex and Shaw (1986) and Martin and Roberts (1984) find substantial evidence of continuing vertical and horizontal segregation. Cockburn (1989) attributes the lack of equal opportunity program success to the fact that programs are seen as a tool of management to sanitize and contain the struggle for gender equality. Thus management pays lip service to the equal opportunity issue and co-ops its proponents, lest any serious damage be done to the status quo and their underlying assumptions regarding the separation of WF. A flat refusal to address the issues in the U.S. might invite mandated government compliance and programs which are highly unattractive to organizations. In Canada such a tactic as mandating compliance, is unavailable. Organizations prefer to continue to have control over the change agenda. Webb and Liff (1988) argue that such limited change as indicated above, however, is inherent in the dominant 'liberal' model of equal opportunity programs in place in organizations (Jewson and Mason, 1986). This liberal model of equal opportunity contains the assumption of individual choice; however it ignores the limitations of some people to actually make that choice.

1.3 CENTRAL ARGUMENT

Clearly WF issues are important concerns for organizations as more and more families and parents feel the stresses, conflicting demands and time pressures of WF integration. Some organizations have responded by implementing WF programs, but most have not. Among those organizations that have responded, I argue that program success has been limited. One explanation for this is an inability to overcome deeply embedded cultural assumptions regarding the primacy of females' domestic and maternal roles and the forces that keep the public work and private family spheres separate. There appears to be some reluctance to

acknowledge and accept the degree of spillover between WF, reflecting the separation of WF in an objective male world of work.

WF programs that intend to produce change in organizations have been relatively unsuccessful. I do not do an in-depth analysis of the success of WF programs in other organizations beyond the case organization in this dissertation and therefore cannot comment beyond what I see at a cursory level. It is my view, however, that many of the efforts to date appear to be merely symptomatic treatments of the problem. The persistence of WF issues and lack of commitment to deal with them is of interest in this dissertation. I argue that WF conflicts do not fit into what most organizations define as acceptable reasons to engage in deeply felt organization change. In these organizations' view legitimate reasons to initiate change have clear economic impacts or constitute investments in future profitability for organizational performance. These initiatives are directed to the extension of product lines, the updating of technology, or the carving out of new market niches. WF is clearly unlike these programs in the directness of its relationship to an organization's performance. WF change is rather about employee well-being, as it is concerned with stress-producing conflicting demands and pressures and not necessarily about organizational performance, although potentially related to it. As a result, WF is considered a peripheral program, something done during better economic conditions.

I also assert that there are theoretical reasons for the lack of WF change. Attempts to produce WF change, like other organizational projects dealing with gender issues, are producing changes of first-order. My definition of first-order change is similar to my earlier comments regarding superficial change. An enduring idea is that there are basically two kinds of change. Lindblom (1959:79) differentiates branch and root change. Branch change involves "successive limited comparisons that continually build out of the current situation, step-by-step and by small degrees," whereas root change is "a comprehensive

approach starting from fundamentals anew each time, ... always prepared to start from the ground up." Similarly, Greiner (1972:40) contrasts evolutionary change and revolutionary change. He defines evolutionary change as "the modest adjustments necessary for maintaining growth under the same overall pattern of management ." Revolutionary change consists of "the serious upheavals and abandonment of past management practices involving finding a new set of organizational practices that will become the basis for managing the next period of evolutionary growth." The terminology I use in this study to incorporate these change concepts include first and second-order change. First- order change "involves a variation that occurs within a given system which itself remains unchanged." Second-order change "involves a variation whose occurrence changes the system itself." (Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch (1974: 10-11).

First-order and second-order change do not just address the magnitude of change; rather they have implications for the permanence of new arrangements. Buckley (1967) and Smith (1981:318) use the terms morphostasis and morphogenesis to describe the effect of first- and second-order change on the form and substance of new structures: "Morphostasis.... enables things to look different while remaining basically as they have always been." In contrast, "morphogenesis .... penetrates so deeply that all future generations acquire and reflect those changes. In morphogenesis the change has occurred in the very essence, in the core, and nothing needs to be done to keep the change changed." In my opinion, it is this view of second order change: deeply felt, that must inform the pursuit of the WF agenda.

Cockburn (1989) sees only first-order change in programs such as WF or, in her words, change using the "short agenda." The short agenda refers to the minimum position supported by top management. The short agenda or first-order change is unlike second-order change found in more radical projects of transformation or what Cockburn refers to

as the "long agenda." The long agenda is much more ambitious and time- consuming and refers to specific actions around changing the basis of male patriarchal power. Her work reveals the difference between cosmetic treatment and a project of transformative change in work organizations (Cockburn, 1989). In a similar vein, the liberal feminist tradition is criticized by many other forms of feminism today as being a form of the short-agenda or cosmetic change, in which underlying patriarchal ideological assumptions preventing meaningful change remain unchallenged (Walby, 1990; Weedon, 1994).

I am not implying here that all organizations attempting WF change programs are necessarily pushing a liberal feminist agenda. Clearly, this is not the case. But WF programs implemented by organizations most often resemble examples of liberal feminism, with their minimal first-order changes which do not fundamentally challenge existing status quo systems. WF programs like equity programs, are considered as tinkering with the status quo or implementing the short agenda and do not allow for second-order change to foundational patriarchal ideas governing the work organization. Examples of such underlying interpretive schemes working against WF programs include the on-going expectations of the separation of the public/private spheres, male and female occupational role assignments, illegitimacy of WF as an organizational concern, and the silenced voices of lower level organizational participants.

Patriarchal interpretive schemes are thus embedded in organizational structures and manifest in the organization culture. Moreover, these hegemonic interpretive schemes are perpetuated through accepted patterns of communication, history of practices, operations, and governing. In order to produce meaningful, enduring WF programs in organizations, the more radical approach of second- order change is crucial. Before I continue with the discussion of how to change underlying patriarchal interpretive schemes, it is necessary at this point to clearly define the concept of patriarchy.

Patriarchy is a key concept in this dissertation and is defined in the feminist literature in many ways. To begin my brief review, patriarchy as a concept is indispensable for analyzing gender inequality in organizations, due to its depth and interconnected character (Cockburn, 1991; Mills & Tancred, 1992; Walby, 1990). Patriarchy may be positioned as a sex/gender system. Rubin (1975) and Mitchell and Rose (1982) refer to sex/gender when discussing subjectivity, or self-conscious awareness and its ideology and construction. Chodorow (1978) focuses on the creation of hegemony - a combination of political and ideological means working to produce coercion and consent to dominant group interests - regarding sex/gender in mothering. Fox (1988) provides for different conceptions of patriarchy as pervasive social features that assert gender inequality. She defines patriarchy as a self-contained sex/gender system: a universal collective of male dominance. Millet (1969) sees patriarchy as an invariable universal male dominance that implies a causal innate desire for power on the part of men. She reduces social structure to male rule of females. O'Brien (1990) argues that biological reproduction determines consciousness, which in turn generates patriarchal structure, but this perspective rests on the unacceptable use of biological determinism to explain domination (Fox, 1988).

Delphy (1977) describes patriarchy as a system of oppression with the material base embedded in the domestic mode of production. Social class relations organize Delphy's work, leading to the dual systems approach that incorporates domination systems of patriarchy and capitalism (Hartmann, 1981). Burstyn (1984) focuses on women's domestic labour and the benefits it provides to men in terms of care-giving. The focus in this perspective is male control over female labour. The patriarchal forces assumed to be motivating men are considered part of an innate biological drive for power. Ferguson and Folbre (1981) argue that patriarchy and capitalism are separate and interacting semi-autonomous systems. They flesh out the meaning of patriarchy and its relationship to

capitalism with the argument that the male need for legitimate heirs and fresh labour power causes them to dominate women. All these theorists appear concerned with the way an individual's psychology and social structure connect and the way gendered subjectivities and male dominance relate.

I define patriarchy in this dissertation as a systemic force, meaning a force that is realized through organizational policies, structures, operations and interactions reflecting the underlying interpretive scheme. This systemic force works to privilege the "ideal" male workers and downgrade any non-ideal workers, i.e., women, who might presume to privilege domestic and family concerns over work for any reason. This kind of patriarchy is played out through the continued separation of WF, the reinforcement of public and private spheres of activity and the subordination of WF issues and overall employee well-being to the more important concerns of organizational performance and effectiveness. I will return to define further the concepts of the ideal worker, the separation of WF, and public and private spheres in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

When I consider how patriarchal interpretive schemes are manufactured, embedded and perpetuated systemically in organizations, I view managers as the guardians of organizational life and business schools as their training ground. Clegg and Dunkerly (1980) argue that organizational ideologies are manufactured in and for business schools. Management graduates then create and perpetuate similar ideologies of exploitation and domination such as patriarchy in work organizations. Management practice is supported by and reflected in organization theories that do not acknowledge the central role of patriarchal interpretive schemes in their make-up or the notion of whole people's lives. Any carry-over of an employee's family life into their work-life must be both dysfunctional and the "fault" of the employee. Many work organizations and much of organization theory appear to

perpetuate the idea that there is no need to re-examine the public/private ideological distinctions inherent in organization structures and behaviors.

Donaldson (1985) disagrees with Clegg and Dunkerly, arguing that for systems of ideas to be ideological, there needs to be demonstrated usage. Managerial views and organization theory are not identical, nor are they always in alignment, states Donaldson. Studies examine differences between organizations at some point of time, as well as changes in organizations across time. There is much interest in change, adaptation, and survival, he argues. Accusations of managerial bias are but pervasive distortions in the account given of organization life that transforms organization theory and ideology.

While there may be merit to Donaldson's argument, my case study does not support his position. Given the case data, I draw on Friedlander (1994) to argue that most organization theories do not take a holistic view of the "employee" and that organizations seek to maintain the sharp boundaries between public and private spheres of life. Even when organizations do implement WF programs due to social pressures, they reinforce the public/private separations in practice, giving lip service to WF as a legitimate topic, while maintaining the prominence of patriarchal advantage under the guise of the organization's welfare. Programs are often of shallow application and short tenure. Calas and Smircich (1990) would agree that organization theory has "written in" gender in incomplete ways.

I think we need a direct challenge to patriarchal underlying interpretive schemes in order to produce second-order WF change. If organizations considered WF as one system rather than two, and acknowledged the multiple connections, then new forms of WF might emerge as well as a reduction in contradictions and problems (Friedlander, 1994). New forms of theorizing about organizational WF programs might also emerge, given a sense of legitimacy surrounding the issue as a viable change impetus.

Because WF issues and needed changes are not part of mainstream thinking around what constitutes a legitimate need for transformative change, use of change theories cannot get much beyond the failure of such programs. For example, change theories may suggest that program failures are related to a lack of commitment by either managers or employees or both, but they cannot accommodate the idea that a successful WF program might actually encourage some organization members to be a little less committed to the organization and a little more committed to their families. Organization theories of change may thus recognize the value of analyzing deep structures constituting interpretive schemes, but without a critical perspective cannot find anything out of order. The problem is that WF change is not clearly linked to, nor in itself does it constitute, an acceptable impetus for change. Further, WF change cannot be linked in a strong way to organizational performance or other economic impetus to warrant change. Justification for anything but the short agenda within a more liberal feminist approach is therefore not likely. For this reason, I argue that organizational researchers may need to move beyond mainstream analysis and use a more critical feminist perspective to allow for a fuller explanation of the lack of successful change to interpretive schemes in the case of WF programs. WF programs are not working very well because they are defined away as not important, or as women's private issues. And yet, these issues are issues that belong to all parents. In an effort to challenge the organizational biases that marginalize WF issues, it is my position that we need to critique our existing models of organizational change from a feminist perspective.

To understand the barriers preventing WF change, we need to better understand how patriarchal ideology continues to operate in organizations. Deeply-held values and attitudes about working continue to favour traditional male workers assumed to be devoid of family responsibility. Socially constructed ideas about womanhood and manhood exist in attitudes of people working in organizations (Calas & Smircich, 1990). Gender role

ideology is deeply embedded in attitudes at all levels across gender and is built into and perpetuated by organizational structures, rules and operations (Mills & Murgatroyd, 1994). The ideas and resultant practices help to perpetuate systemic discrimination (Abella, 1984). WF programs do not fit into mainstream theories because they are considered "women's issues" . While there is a wider recognition that women's and WF issues exist outside the boundaries of organizations in larger society, women are still denied a full presence in organization theory. Instead, the male presence is assumed to be the standard (Calas and Smircich, 1990). Organizational theories of change tend to ignore individuals' private lives, leaving those topics for those who study family and recreation (Friedlander, 1994).

WF organizational change projects obviously reflect contradictory concerns to the outdated idea of maintaining WF as two separate spheres of activity. The implications of WF integration for women are well documented in the feminist literature (Walby, 1990; 1986; Armstrong et.al., 1988; 1985; 1984; Bielby and Bielby, 1989; Dex and Shaw, 1988; Duffy et.al., 1989; Ehrlich, 1989; Gerson, 1985; Hochschild, 1989; Cockburn, 1989; 1991; Jaggar, 1988).

By directly confronting organizational structures and managerial behaviours representing embedded cultural patriarchal ideas, we can then examine the WF change project as it is planned and implemented. We can examine the blocks and supports around the project, how shared meanings perpetuated by underlying interpretive schemes prevent some employees from being heard, exacerbate their problems, and perpetuate the same patriarchal relations of power and domination that we are intent on removing.

My research considers the relationship of the WF change process to the organization's underlying interpretive schemes (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988). This approach gets at the deeply-rooted assumptions regarding the separation of WF spheres, gender roles and

resident ideas about the ideal worker which must be changed in order to produce a Family Friendly (FF) workplace. The primary methodology used in this project is Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Whyte, 1991). The data collection strategy is varied, including use of survey data, participant observations, organizational files, focus groups, interviews, and program evaluation. I elaborate the methods used more fully in Chapter 3, Research Setting, Methods and Data Collection.

1.4. STUDY IMPORTANCE

Given the research to date regarding WF integration, the experiences of strain on workers, and the impact of this strain on organizations, it is important to understand why so little has yet been accomplished . The WF change efforts described to date have focussed on the potential to improve productivity, morale and attendance (Paris, 1989). Further, there appears to be moderate interest in the study of these organizational innovations and the motivation for development and implementation in the organizational change literature (Friedlander, 1994; Agocs et.al., 1992; Stillman and Bowen, 1986). As I have already mentioned, lack of success in WF programs appears to require a shift in attitudes regarding the appropriateness of blending WF. Of particular note is the legitimacy of bringing private family issues into the workplace (Friedlander, 1994). When we question why organizations have done so little, we must carefully consider deeply held assumptions regarding women's domestic role (Cockburn, 1993). These traditional beliefs persist regardless of statistical evidence regarding women's growing role in the labour market. Decision makers appear unable to move beyond expectations that WF are separate spheres and concerns. WF is not seen as a legitimate organizational issue, nor does it appear important to question assumptions around who "ideal" workers really are.

The majority of organizations today do not offer WF programs with direct services like on-site dependent care or financial reimbursements for off-site dependent care. When such

programs are offered, they are more likely to be indirect, coping initiatives for individuals such as flexible work schedules (Hyland, 1990; Burke et.al., 1991). But, as mentioned earlier, access to even indirect WF programs such as flexible work schedules, where they do exist , is often contingent on job classification or arbitrary management discretion (Lero and Johnson, 1990).

In order to explore the barriers preventing the success of organizational WF programs, both in terms of organizational efforts and employee access, I study a Canadian public service organization, hereafter referred to as Public Service, taking its first hesitant steps toward the Family Friendly (FF) organizational archetype. This study allows a close examination and critique of the transition between archetypal forms of organization. We gain insight into the supports and barriers encountered in the process of change, obtaining rich information for future planned changes of the same nature. The following research questions guide my analysis.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What organizational factors arose to support and/or block Public Service's ability to produce a FF organization?
   - i) How can we recognize a FF organization?
   - ii) Did Public Service achieve the FF archetype?
   - iii) How did Public Service compare to other organizations moving toward a FF archetype?

2. To what extent were institutionalized barriers found in,
   a) ideas embedded in organizational values, or
   b) management behaviours?

i) How did these institutionalized barriers limit Public Service from producing second-order change?

ii) Could Public Service have still produced second-order WF change regardless of the institutionalized barriers? How?

3. What do the institutionalized barriers reveal about embedded assumptions contained in interpretive schemes at Public Service specific regarding:

i) the continued separation of WF and therefore public and private spheres and

ii) the image of the ideal worker?

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Sequentially, the following chapters develop the ideas presented above as follows. Chapter 2 contains the theoretical framework developed to study WF Organizational Change failure. Chapter 3, The Story of Public Service, presents the case study materials. Chapter 4 contains specific information about the research setting and methods of data collection used. In Chapter 5, I discuss program evaluation materials and establish program failure. The following Chapters 6 through 8 contain my analyses of the data. Chapter 6 focuses on the Family-Friendly Archetype, the desired end state and concentrates on the aspects that blocked and/or supported the change. Chapter 7 looks more closely at the barriers encountered and considers the difference between first-order cosmetic and second-order transformative change. Chapter 8 delves deeper into the institutionalized ideas that continue to separate WF, and privilege the ideal male worker. Finally, Chapter 9 presents my concluding comments about the project and outlines the scholarly and practical

contributions made.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO EXPLAIN PROJECT FAILURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

To explore the failure of the WF program at Public Service, I draw from theories that purport to explain the mechanics and process of change. I did not empirically test these theories in the traditional sense. My approach is Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Whyte, 1991). Although I am presenting the theoretical framework first, it developed as a result of my inductive fieldwork in data gathering and analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and establishment of program failure. I present the resulting framework here in order to clarify my analytic focus and to introduce the theoretical concepts used to develop my argument.

I wanted to look first at why the organization failed to move between the non-family-friendly archetype and the family-friendly archetype. Family-friendly organizational archetypes represent organizations which are actively pursuing a strategic orientation explicitly to produce pro-family-friendly values and underlying interpretive schemes. Supporting structural changes in such an organization would include family-supportive benefits, programs, practices, flexible work schedules, family-related leaves of absence, financial assistance to families, dependent care services or information about dependent care services, recognition of work-family stresses and conflicts and management training to deal with issues and support change direction (Betcherman, 1994; Duxbury et.al., 1993; MacBride-King, 1990). I turned to theories that went beyond how change is implemented structurally to include perspectives dealing with both structural and ideological change. In order to explore why WF change necessarily involves second-order change, I chose what I considered three major organizational change theory perspectives. Hinings and

Greenwood (1988), Bartunek (1984), and Oliver (1992) are complementary in their ability to account for both structural and ideological change. These perspectives stand apart from many theories of change in their ability to account for underlying interpretive scheme changes that are a little outside the status quo. Relevant examples in these theories include the ability to theorize about change failure that incorporates deep-seated cultural ideas as important factors, to account for the difficulties around producing change to religious orders, and to account for changes imposed through social factors. Even though WF change is not addressed specifically within these approaches, I use them to examine the WF change program and the organization's underlying cultural ideas about gender roles and the place of family in the WF dimension. In doing this, I ask whether the organizational change theories can successfully explain the resistance to change embedded in patriarchal idea systems which are preventing meaningful WF change.

I find that the selected theories fall short of my goal in examining the WF program's failure. Although these theories clearly show change at both structural and interpretive scheme levels, they cannot accommodate WF as a legitimate impetus for change. WF issues are defined outside of legitimate organizational reasons for change. They should accommodate WF given the changing needs of members of the workforce, but do not, given the traditional ideas separating family issues from workplace issues as discussed above. For this reason, we can only use the change theories to theorize about changes of the first-order. Broadening the definition of legitimate change to include non-economic dimensions of organizational effectiveness is a second-order change in the very nature of change theories themselves since it seeks to re-evaluate their fundamental assumptions.

I use critiques from a feminist perspective to address the weaknesses found in using the selected organizational change theories to specifically understand the Public Service data, and to get at the second-order change issues. Patriarchal ideology refers to a system of

structures and behaviours that privileges ideal male workers and dominates, exploits and oppresses female workers (Walby, 1990; Cockburn, 1991). This bias is embedded and institutionalized in the organization's underlying interpretive schemes that unconsciously maintain and perpetuate the separation of WF into separate spheres of activity. In this chapter, I provide further descriptive information about the main concepts involved in patriarchal ideologies within work organizations. I am concerned with that which reinforces the continued separation of WF, public and private spheres of life, and male and female roles, so that I can explore the failure to change similar ideas at Public Service. My perspective is informed largely by Cockburn's (1991) integrative study, In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations. I use her perspective to supplement the previous organizational change theories in an effort to understand the actual process and outcome of the change attempt.

I use these theoretically distinctive perspectives in a complementary fashion. I do not attempt to combine the different theoretical perspectives, as some are incompatible at the meta-theoretical level. Rather, these theoretical perspectives highlight different aspects of my research questions (Morgan, 1986). This complementary use of the different perspectives provides for the complexity of my data and the difficulties of implementing WF change programs in the case organization. Analyses of these case study data are presented in later chapters. The analyses provide substantive theoretical and practical contributions to further our understanding of cultural interpretive scheme change in organizations.

In this chapter, I position each theoretical perspective according to how it helps address my research questions. The first perspective presented is from the organizational change theories of Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood (1980), Hinings and Greenwood (1988), and Bartunek (1984). These writers help me to identify factors that support and/or block the

WF program change, particularly with respect to the distinction between first- and second-order changes in the workplace.

With Hinings et. al. (1988), we can attempt to follow the WF change from archetype A (the non family friendly organizational form) to archetype B (the family friendly organizational form), looking at structural and idea systems change. With Bartunek's (1984) perspective, we can examine the process of the change and focus on either structural or individual levels of analyses.

When I discuss the major barriers to WF change that arise questioning the legitimacy of the project as a focus for organizational change, I draw from the feminist literature. Feminist writers document issues of sexism and gender bias embedded in organizational structures and underlying ideas (Mills and Tancred, 1992; Calas and Smircich, 1992; Cockburn, 1991; Walby, 1990; Mills, 1988; Hearn and Parkin, 1987; Ferguson, 1984; Kanter, 1977). A feminist perspective provides a direct challenge to underlying patriarchal assumptions. I use the perspective to examine taken-for-granted, rule-like managerial behaviours and attitudes at Public Service that privilege ideal male workers. I then discuss why second-order change efforts are needed to successfully get at and produce change in this dimension of the organization.

In my discussion of planned change to rule-like behaviours and attitudes, I draw from Oliver's (1992) deinstitutionalization theory. Oliver does not invoke a feminist critique with her theory of deinstitutionalization. I am using her theory for this purpose. Oliver is most concerned with theorizing about how structures, ideas and organization forms more generally become institutionalized and how they might then become deinstitutionalized over time, thus explaining how and why change occurs. In addition to functional and political organizational factors, her theory allows for social issues and forces to play a major role in

change. Deinstitutionalization, according to Oliver, seeks to create second-order change by simultaneously eroding existing out-of-date ideas, practices and structures while replacing them through the support of new ideas, practices and structures. Among several approaches to deinstitutionalization, there is the suggestion that if employees with the desired, more supportive interpretive schemes are strategically placed, proponents of the status quo are moved around to fragment solidarity and employees are resocialized to the new organizational goals, that meaningful change may occur without defensive confrontation. Given the strength of the defensive responses to WF initiatives at Public Service, this approach held substantial promise as a descriptive and prescriptive framework.

Even though Cockburn's (1991) feminist perspective is not necessarily at odds with these approaches, I am suggesting that generally, the organizational analysis literature has not incorporated a lot of feminist critique. I say this because even though the third perspective used is highly creative, it, like the others, cannot fully account for the lack of WF change encountered in the case study. WF issues remain defined as extra-organizational. In order for the high level of attention and commitment required by deinstitutionalization in favour of WF change to occur, WF must be defined as being as crucial as market share or new product introduction are to the organization's successful functioning.

To get beyond general program failure at Public Service, I use a feminist perspective to more clearly identify the underlying interpretive schemes in operation and point to the embedded biases preventing change to interpretive schemes from occurring. Through my perspective, I challenge the theoretical and practical boundaries that define WF concerns as peripheral organizational issues.

In the following sections, I flesh out more fully the theoretical framework described briefly above and show how each of the theories selected allow me to deal with specific research questions.

2.2 THEORIES OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

2.2.1 Supports and Barriers Affecting Public Service's Ability to Change

The first research question, "What Organizational Factors Support and/or Block Organizational Change", addresses how the change process unfolds and what influenced the WF change program during the planning and implementation stages. As noted above, I draw from Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980) and Hinings and Greenwood (1988) to examine the change process as the organization attempts to move from one organization archetypal form (non-family-friendly archetype) to the new archetypal form (family-friendly archetype).

The path of reorganization from non-family friendly to family-friendly can be traced developmentally by looking at the past or present organization form, "archetype A" and the new organization form, "archetype B." The new Family-Friendly archetype was specified by Public Service's Participatory Action Research Team and endorsed by the Executive Committee. I will provide an in-depth account of this in the following chapters. Archetypes are defined as compositions of structures and systems that provide coherence as well as orient organizational members to the organization's underlying set of ideas, values, and beliefs, referred to as interpretive scheme (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988). The notion of design archetypes defined as a "particular composition of ideas, beliefs and values connected to organizational structures and systems" (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988:8) attempts to provide a holistic and emergent view that incorporates both 'hard' notions of organization structure and 'soft' ideas, beliefs, and values. Organizations tend to operate and remain within the parameters and assumptions of a given archetype and find

it difficult to move between archetypes. However, organizations rarely remain in one stable archetype for an entire life cycle. When movement does occur, it usually means that a reorientation, transformation, or new development in the organization's design has occurred.

In The Dynamics of Strategic Change , Hinings and Greenwood (1988) refer to the path of change between the two archetypes as a "track." A track is a heuristic used to map out or capture the movement of the organization between archetypes. We can learn why some organizations move along particular tracks and not others; why some remain locked within an archetype, while others achieve transformational change; and finally, why still others begin the journey, but fail to arrive. Tracks are used to sort change processes, such as decoupling, defined as the separation of concepts and structure in coherent form; recoupling, defined as re-integration of processes which can be coherent and consistently reflecting and reinforcing one interpretive scheme; embryonic, a state that consistently reflects ideas and values of one interpretive scheme, but contains significantly discordant structural design elements; or schizoid, referring to structures and processes that reflect tensions between two contradictory sets of ideas and beliefs. In addition, the authors provide a primary configuration of tracks that include inertia, aborted excursions, reorientations and unresolved excursions.

Hinings and Greenwood (1988) assume that an organization will move from archetype to archetype in pursuit of a better "fit" with its environment. This draws from the organization and environment interaction perspective. The pursuit of "fitness" in change efforts can lead to the desired end states or become derailed or abandoned. While change occurs structurally when organizations move between archetypes, there must also be movement in existing values and beliefs or "interpretive schemes" for a change to be real

and lasting. The two "hang together," the latter being more resilient and difficult to accomplish.

According to Ranson et.al. (1980:4-5), interpretive schemes are expressed in provinces of meaning, derived from Schutz (1967) and defined as that which allows for the generation and recreation of meaning realized by organizational actors. Provinces of meaning embrace both interpretive schemes that allow us to constitute and understand organizational worlds and the articulation of elements of interpretive schemes such as values and interests lying behind the organization's structure. The fact that change is not always possible is linked to how easily the interpretive scheme shifts. As in the case study, proposed new structures and ideas do not always follow prescriptions of established bases of power and legitimacy. New values may not be accepted, making resources required for the change scarce and the prevailing hegemony rigid.

Cockburn (1991: 45) provides agreement to Ranson et.al.'s (1980) interconnection of ideas and structures and the importance of considering both the content and context of change when theorizing about change or lack of it. She describes the relationship between structures and ideas as follows: "Institutional impediments ... include structures, processes and rules. Cultural impediments arise in discourse and interaction...structures can be changed in the right cultural environment. But structures predispose how people think and act." Again, provinces of meaning shown to constitute behaviour provide a way to understand organizational meaning and, through organization member behaviours and attitudes, give us a way to identify underlying values and interests.

Hinings and Greenwood's (1988) theory provides a framework for understanding organizational movement away from one current design on tracks and why some organizations are able and others unable to change. These authors introduce concepts to

describe the structure and idea system changes attempted by the case organization. For example, situational constraint means that limitations are inherent in the context of the organization. Interpretive scheme interests represent the motivation to enhance or sustain shares of scarce resources. Interpretive scheme interests would have much to do with whether or not WF issues are seen as legitimate stimuli for change. Power refers to relations of dependency and domination that provide for resolution of conflicts over value preferences and sectional interests. Organizational capacity is that which enables appropriate competencies and capabilities.

The objective and subjective conditions of change are emphasized in this model. The archetype is said to contain objective structures and systems of the organization as well as a subjective interpretive scheme containing dominant ideas, beliefs and values. This broader view of the organization allows for both prescribed and emergent changes to be incorporated. Prescribed change interacts with, but is subject to, modification and replacement. The theory describes the changes and the process of the change itself on how organization strategists "accomplish their work, develop policy and allocate resources in an effort to take the organization from one track to another" (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988:11).

Crucial to this theory is that objective structures and belief systems or interpretive schemes work together to form a coherent organization design (Miller and Mintzberg, 1983). The task is to uncover the coherent patterns, which are very important if our objective is to change them. Hinings and Greenwood (1988:18) argue that patterns of organization design, or what they call design archetypes, are identified by isolating distinctive ideas, values and meanings that are reflected in and reproduced groupings of structures and systems. The concept of structure refers to a configuration of activities characteristically enduring, persistent and occurring with patterned regularity (Ranson, et.al., 1980:1). The

theory states that there will be a successful change in structuring if organizational members revise their provinces of meaning, referring to interpretive schemes that underpin the constitutive structures of the organization. However , it is an open question whether this actually occurs. Changes such as those required by the WF issues raised at Public Service are located outside of the interpretive schemes regarding what constitutes a legitimate reason to engage in change to an organizational structure.

Information on how interpretive schemes actually undergo change is left unspecified by Hinings and Greenwood (1988). This is particularly problematic when dealing with the central interpretive scheme values and interests centered around patriarchy which maintain WF as separate areas, with the latter having little or no connection to the organization. This gap may be linked to the fact that the theory resides in the functionalism paradigm and the authors reluctance to incorporate elements from other theoretical paradigms at the risk of creating contradictions in logic. Although different paradigmatic approaches cannot be collapsed into one perspective due to inherent contradictions in logic, they can be used in juxtaposition to offer competing understanding of social phenomenon.

A further and related gap is that Hinings and Greenwood (1988) appear to assume that it is functional for organizations to be staffed by "ideal" workers in terms of effectiveness criteria such as efficiency and productivity. But what is also clear is that an economy based upon such "functional" organizations produces a very dysfunctional social system. We can use this theory to track change as the organization moves from A to B and begin to look at that which supports and blocks the change efforts. However, we cannot use only this theory to understand failure at Public Service, as it does not allow us to consider fully the WF change initiative. This theory describes change to organizational structures and interpretive schemes that are all economic, performance and effectiveness related. For this reason, we cannot get beyond the short agenda or first-order change with this theory. My

position is that any theory of change promoting only effectiveness/performance criteria as the impetus for change can only describe the success or failure of WF initiatives as first-order phenomena. We must therefore move on to challenge the level of interpretive schemes resisting change involved at Public Service with a second theoretical perspective.

2.2.2 First-Order Change, Second-Order Change and Competing Underlying Interpretive Schemes

Bartunek (1984) allows us to look directly at how change to interpretive schemes takes place at the individual level of analysis. Further, she contrasts first- and second-order change. This is an important contribution to the ability to address the first research question as it gets us closer to actual blocks and supports for the change between organization forms.

The central focus of Changing Interpretive Schemes and Organizational Restructuring is the "relationship between interpretive schemes and structure, and especially, between changing interpretive schemes and restructuring" (Bartunek, 1984: 355). This theory builds on Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood's (1980) theory. Bartunek (1984) notes that Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood (1980) make general statements about the relationship between changing interpretive schemes and restructuring but do not address in enough detail important issues pertinent to this relationship. An important example of this is the dialectic that takes place between old and new interpretive schemes during restructuring. As noted above, Hinings and Greenwood (1988) elaborate the change process at the macro level between organization archetypes. But Bartunek (1984) provides us the ability to consider how interpretive schemes undergo change, and the means through which these changes relate to restructuring at a much deeper level of analysis.

Changes in interpretive schemes, according to Bartunek (1984), can be first-order incremental modifications or developments. However, change can also be of the second-order, referring to a radical, discontinuous shift in interpretive schemes. In other words, organizational paradigms are reframed; norms and world views are changed. This information is important given the nature, broad acceptance, and resilience of the underlying patriarchal assumptions within the interpretive schemes at work in the case organization and in organizational theories more generally (Ferguson, 1984; Walby, 1990; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Calas and Smircich, 1990). The depth that Bartunek provides allows for a clear comparison of first- versus second-order change and given the strength of resistant ideas the rationale to target change attempts at the second-order.

Bartunek (1984) specifies that she is interested in second-order change. This type of change is more rare, to be sure, but probably the only type likely to have a significant impact on cultural forms such as interpretive schemes. This point converges with Cockburn (1991), and fits with the concerns expressed to this point. WF is not considered a legitimate reason to engage in organizational change even though more and more employees are experiencing conflicting demands and time pressures. WF change requires a challenge to underlying interpretive schemes and structures that produce an organizational archetype which privileges ideal male workers. WF issues are personal issues and not directly related to economic performance and effectiveness. Bartunek allows for the challenge to the restriction that organizational change initiatives are expressed as a measure of performance. WF change may or may not be about performance or effectiveness but, because it runs counter to powerful ideas separating WF into public and private spheres, first-order change efforts will not succeed. Instead, change planned at a much deeper and fundamental level is needed, second-order change.

According to Bartunek, second-order change to interpretive schemes occurs through a dialectical process in which the old and new interpretive schemes interact, resulting in a synthesis. Drawing from the organization and environment interaction perspective, Bartunek (1984) notes that an organization's interpretive schemes are indirectly affected by and indirectly affect the organization's structure. It is also suggested that the environment triggers change. The effect of the environment in producing change in an organization is dependent on the organization's leadership strategy. A leader can choose to enable or ignore different environmental pressures for change, as well as the dialectical process itself. The leader may or may not be directly aware of the dialectic between competing interpretive schemes. The dialectic refers to the direct tension between old and new interpretive schemes that may result in some synthesis and become the new form. This is important when looking at the relationship between second-order change in interpretive schemes and organization restructuring, particularly with respect to excessively deterministic views of environmental influence.

According to Bartunek (1984: 364), second-order transitions begin with a perceived crisis that is strong enough to "unfreeze" accepted institutionalized interpretive schemes (Schein, 1980). In my case study, WF needs have not generated such an acknowledged crisis. From a feminist perspective, this may be because those experiencing crisis have been effectively silenced. Examples of events powerful enough to do this are unsuccessful management practices such as an autocratic tradition in an organization shifting to create democratic teams, power shifts such as a change in organizational emphasis from one product to another, leadership, or a challenge to shared beliefs among members, for example the level of acceptability around irresponsible disposal of waste into the environment (Bartunek, 1984).

Patriarchal assumptions embedded in interpretive schemes, although challenged actively by feminist scholars such as Cockburn (1991), Calas and Smircich (1990) or Mills and Tancred (1992), may not be perceived in organizations as constituting this type of powerful crisis. The crisis acts as a challenge to the organization's dominant interpretive scheme thesis. Other ways of understanding become the antithesis and what emerges from the interaction of the two is the synthesis. This approach implies that both processes of differentiation and integration are encountered and synthesized into a new understanding. Conflict is a natural part of the processes between groups within the organization who hold opposing interpretive schemes. The dialectical process can also take place within individuals as expressed values and interests are gradually changed. This point converges with Gersick's (1991) view that organizational members may become threatened and fear the chaos, dissolution and loss implied by change.

Although Bartunek's (1984) perspective sounds very similar to Gersick's (1991) perspective, it is different in an important way. Gersick's interpretation of the theory of punctuated equilibrium assumes that organizations undergoing second-order change in their interpretive schemes are in a different phase after the triggering crisis event. She also assumes that this new phase or changed state is qualitatively different to that experienced prior to the change and/or while undergoing the change. The interpretive schemes and the organization's systems and structures are by definition different after the change. There is no period where the two forms can co-exist at relatively equal strength. Punctuated equilibrium theory assumes that change must necessarily occur. This assumption is quite different from Hinings and Greenwood (1988), who suggest that two completely different interpretive schemes can co-exist for an unknown period of time. It is also different from Bartunek (1984: 366), who suggested that new interpretive schemes and structural properties can enter a reciprocal relationship with existing interpretive schemes and actions. Organizational members act on the basis of their evolving understanding, which in turn

affects the organization's structural dimensions. Thus, structure limits and enables the expressions of particular interpretive schemes and actions based on them. Structure, interpretive schemes and actions therefore are modified as they interact with each other.

Similar to Tushman and Romanelli's (1985) view, the role of leadership in Bartunek's (1984) theory is also important. Leaders have an influence over which combination of alternative interpretive schemes, actions and structural changes are expressed. They therefore help to shape the possibility and course of second-order change by legitimizing certain perspectives. Bartunek (1984) ends by suggesting that the organizations' leaders or business strategists can enter the change process between organizational restructuring and the development of new interpretive schemes. This point of entry may however inhibit change to challenge patriarchal interpretive schemes, structures and practices. It also seems unlikely that the experiences of those most constrained by these structures and practices, the lower-level members of organizations, will be considered relevant by organizational leaders or business strategists.

Bartunek 's (1984) theory allows for periods of discontinuous change and great upheaval linked to acceptance/rejection of interpretive schemes. She also considers all organizational participants important holders of ideas. But the focus on change from a leadership or strategist position seriously constrains agency and biases this perspective. The reality of change is that all individuals, regardless of their roles as managers, non-managers, leaders, or followers, must play meaningful roles in the change process. The organization theory literature appears concerned primarily with how those charged with the achievement of the organization's goals can exert control toward that end. A change agenda which is primarily concerned with the social welfare of organizational members rather than the goals and performance of the organization remains difficult to reconcile. We need to learn of the

perspectives of all recipients of change to fully understand that which blocks and/or supports change.

Using Bartunek, we may look directly at how change does or does not occur. In my study of Public Service, however, there was no perceived crisis or need to change strong enough to allow unfreezing of old interpretive schemes. As I document , there was no power shift involved, no adequate social challenge, no dialectic between old and new forms of ideas apparent. In fact, the Attendance Management program, described at length below, when introduced worked to reinforce and support old interpretive schemes in contradiction to the new. As a result, WF issues did not gain the status of legitimate organization concerns. The changes that were implemented in this case were clearly of a first-order "tinkering" nature. Although Bartunek's theory allows examination of second-order change, we cannot get beyond the idea that the impetus for change must be related to the organization's effectiveness and economic status. Even though economic performance or effectiveness is only part of the story and rationale for change, WF issues have remained clearly outside of the organization's ideological boundaries. It may have appeared that a program was put in place, but no meaningful, lasting change occurred.

Still needed is a way to get past first-order change and include WF as a legitimate issue. In the next section of this chapter I draw from yet another organizational change perspective, deinstitutionalization. This perspective challenges the taken-for-granted assumption that economic performance is the only rationale for change, and considers the separation of WF embedded in managerial consciousness and organizational structures.

2.2.3 Deinstitutionalizing Existing Underlying Interpretive Schemes

In this section, I theoretically address my second research question, "How do political, functional and social factors support and/or block second order change to underlying

interpretive schemes?" Oliver's (1992) deinstitutionalization theory may be used to deal with the difficulty of producing second-order change in underlying interpretive schemes. She provides a method for modifying underlying interpretive schemes.

Deinstitutionalization is defined by Oliver (1992: 564) as the "process by which the legitimacy of an established or institutionalized organization practice erodes or discontinues." It also refers to delegitimation of established practices as a result of changes or failure to reproduce taken-for-granted actions. In reference to Public Service, deinstitutionalization can be conceived of as a process whereby one relatively coherent package of interpretive schemes and structures is presented by change agents to supplant another, more entrenched package. This represents a 'collision of cultures' as one way to conceptualize deinstitutionalization. Unfortunately, the embedded patriarchal assumptions are far more than just another part of the organization's culture and resident interpretive schemes. As I have elaborated above, the non-family-friendly ideas are deeply rooted and pervasive. Similarly, relations of power and domination and their attendant struggles and dynamics are also deeply entrenched. It is at least as great a task to define their limits as it is to attempt to curtail them. This may in fact be the major obstacle to change in my research project.

According to Oliver (1992), many institutional theorists have overlooked the significant role that deinstitutionalization may have in explaining changes in organization structure and behaviours. Instead of focusing primarily on managing new practices into good currency in organizations, change agents may need to look at deinstitutionalizing old practices at the same time. This practice may in fact add to the comfort level of those involved in adapting to the new practices.

The principal contribution of institutional theory is its ability to account for cultural patterns of organizations that are not attributable to individual interest or agency, but which have developed over time and are accepted by organization members as legitimate (DiMaggio, 1988: 6). Similarly, the greatest impact of deinstitutionalization theory may well be felt in its emphasis on change processes which unfold very slowly, over long periods of time. Thus, direct political action may be one way to deinstitutionalize such engrained patterns as the non-family friendly practices and structures in our case organization. But such a confrontational approach is likely to fail given the entrenched political nature of the defenders of the institutionalized patriarchal status quo and the weakness of the WF advocates' position. In defining the nature of the social subject as the ideal male worker, unencumbered by family responsibility, and continuing to reward that subject, the defenders of the status quo contribute to the divisiveness surrounding the integration of WF issues of an already divisive group.

Other approaches to deinstitutionalization focus on sources of legitimation and institutional reproduction which can be less confrontational and potentially more effective. Oliver (1992) argues that deinstitutionalization is determined by political, functional and social mechanisms both internal and external to the organization. She further proposes that deinstitutionalization can occur through either dissipation - a gradual deterioration in the acceptance and use of a particular institutionalized practice - or through the discontinuance of a given practice.

Given the argument against political action, it is useful for us to focus specifically on Oliver's (1992: 578) discussion of social mechanisms in this case. In her words:

> social pressures for change often deinstitutionalize established activities in the absence of an organization's conscious recognition or control of these changes or in spite of contrary organizational intentions to sustain the status quo. First, social fragmentation and historical discontinuities cause deinstitutionalization. These deinstitutionalizing predictors include high turnover, succession, increases in workforce diversity, weakening socialization mechanisms, and culturally

> disparate inter-organizational relations (mergers, joint ventures, for example). Second, external social pressures, including changes in government laws and societal values or expectations, can cause organizations to abandon or relinquish institutional practices. Finally, structural disaggregation induces deinstitutionalization by reducing the proximity of opportunities for interaction among organizations or their members upon which the perpetuation and continuing reproduction of institutionalized values and behaviours depend. Predictors of disaggregation include diversification, geographic dispersion and structural differentiation.

The various social determinants described by Oliver help us to bring into focus powerful human aspects that lend understanding to forms of resistance and organizational politics. We can look through this theory specifically at institutionalized barriers both in interpretive schemes and in structures with respect to Public Service. Oliver's (1992) social fragmentation thesis delineates how high turnover, leader succession, and increases in workplace diversity can undermine the continuity of organizational traditions and customs. Yet she does not address the more fundamental patriarchal assumptions that seem resilient to the most potent forces for change. We must ask why patriarchal traditions in organizations and organization theory persist regardless of the changes Oliver is suggesting. We must also ask how it is that patriarchal tradition perpetuates inequality under the guise of the organization's best interest.

Oliver also suggests that when socialization is ineffective in extinguishing dissensus, erosion of institutionalized norms and activities will naturally occur as they are questioned by those for whom such practices are not so taken for granted. There is increasing pressure in workplaces to do more with less. Among those already experiencing increasing difficulties with WF and overall well-being concerns due to conflicting demands and pressures, institutionalized norms and activities founded upon the ideal worker who is unencumbered by family concerns and can dedicate himself fully in the workplace are increasingly held up for scrutiny. According to Oliver, then, the new realities will act to

further erode and deinstitutionalize outdated behaviours and beliefs which are no longer appropriate (Mintzberg, 1983: 151-162).

Oliver's (1992) last proposition states that structural disaggregation induces deinstitutionalization by reducing the mutual interaction that supports reproduction of the status quo. Workplace diversity can facilitate social fragmentation and the erosion of institutionalized traditions and customs. To directly create this force for change, new employees who possess the desired ideology can be recruited. The new sense of mission can be articulated and actively cultivated through stories and new rituals that reinforce new non-patriarchal values. The desired competencies in an organization can be developed through training, education, and recruitment. In all cases active socialization and resocialization processes should be used.

People learn new cultures and behavioural patterns through socialization processes they directly experience. If processes are deliberately changed, an organization's culture and interpretive schemes will also begin to change. Specific plans to deinstitutionalize old practices and replace them with new ones can be planned. This can take the form of collective, formal training of a fixed duration and/or more individualized training (Trice and Beyer, 1993: 410-412).

But will those in power allow their position and authority to be challenged in this way? Will those systemically defined as non-ideal workers be permitted to gain access to rewards reserved for the loyal and chosen few? Or is it more likely that selection, orientation, and promotion will continue to reinforce the patriarchal assumptions perpetuating the powerful's advantage into the future? Will managers continue to concentrate on identifying "problem" employees and coaching them to more closely resemble 'ideal' workers who know how to keep private and public sphere activities separate and are not at risk with

respect to future family demands? Although deinstitutionalization theory provides interesting leeway at the top management level in the organization, it presents groups of employees as over-socialized subjects. Individuals are not simply passive recipients of ideas and structure. They may have varying degrees of freedom to act within an organization given their position, but they will always find room for self-expression. The managerial bias highlighted earlier in Bartunek (1984, 1987) and Hinings and Greenwood's (1988) work is also present in Oliver (1992). The recipients of change remain largely unaccounted for in these perspectives. Yet it is the same over-socialized subjects who must actively learn the new interpretive schemes and patterns of behaviour. There is little if any room in this perspective to account for resistance or different perceptions among different groups of organization members. The road to deinstitutionalized practice is one of a thousand steps and there is little reason to believe that each step is not being scrutinized by organizational participants with an interest in the status quo.

WF as an agenda of change is simply too large and deep a change to put in place through first- order means. The WF agenda must be taken as deliberate and legitimate by initiators for any chance of success. In WF change, WF issues must be considered legitimate organizational concerns. Accounting for resistance at Public Service is therefore crucial due to the resilience of patriarchal traditions embedded in this organization. Like many other organizations, Public Service supports interpretive schemes that contain assumptions around the ideal worker and the separation of public and private spheres. Such assumptions have clearly not been deinstitutionalized on their own. Before this can occur, WF issues must become legitimate inside the boundaries of organizations and organization theory (Calas and Smircich, 1990).

I have stated that the boundaries that organizations draw do not meaningfully incorporate the private issues of the family. Similarly, organization theory boundaries consider WF issues only superficially at level of first-order change, meaning that the system itself is not held in question. Rather, the concern is with how the system can accommodate this problem without disrupting the status quo. This basic taken-for-granted fact not only blocks meaningful second-order change, but is the precise idea in need of reform. Further, organizational practitioners are supported in treating WF issues this way by the fact that organizational theories are also devoid of a genuine interest in employee's outside private family lives, or intend any notion of people having whole lives (Friedlander, 1995). Less than helpful, too, is that most research dealing with WF issues in organizations tends to be empirical and non-theoretical, and thus lends further support to existing systems by failing to consider alternatives.

2.3 PATRIARCHY AT PUBLIC SERVICE

In this section I address the final research questions, What do the institutionalized barriers reveal about the embedded assumptions contained in interpretive schemes at Public Service specific to: i) the continued separation of WF and therefore, public and private spheres and ii) the image of the ideal worker?

I begin the discussion with the separation of WF to get at underlying assumptions. Men often represent women as a problem in the workplace (Cockburn, 1991; Walby, 1990; Hearn and Parkin 1987; Calas and Smircich, 1992; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Ferguson, 1984; Kanter, 1977). Women's temperament and ability to handle responsible positions, their sexuality, and most importantly their relationship to the domestic sphere is made into a problem. For most men, women represent domestic ties or ties to the private sphere of the family:

> The way women do or do not fit into the schema of paid employment and organizational life is seen primarily as a correlate of their marital status and, more important still, whether they do or do not have children (Cockburn, 1991: 76).

Men, on the other hand, apparently are not thought to have domestic ties. Men do not get pregnant or give birth, nor are they thought able to look after children during the early stages.

According to Cockburn (1991), we find that women are defined domestically and are considered to be operating in an entirely different sphere than are men. The separation of the domestic sphere and the workplace was facilitated by industrial capitalism. Gender roles became entrenched through industrial capitalism. Because of the assumption of their domestic ties, young women became the ideal 'unskilled' routine hands for industrialists and were paid as little as one-third of men's wage (John, 1986). Once married, many were expected or even required to leave employment. The director at Public Service showed me a former document still used in the 1960's, requiring women to sign a contract stating that they would leave the workplace if they married. Forms of protective legislation were introduced such as restricting the hours worked by women and from jobs considered too physically taxing (Humphries, 1988). Such legislation also facilitated the removal of women from jobs considered more appropriate for men. Gradually, the notion of 'work' was redefined as something associated with manhood and independence (Davidoff, 1990). Independence for men appeared to be predicated on women's dependence. For wage labour to create male independence, notes Fraser and Gordon (1994), female economic dependence was required. Women were transformed from partners to dependents. The "ideal" or "real" worker was assumed to be an independent, potent, responsible individual who engaged in paid employment.

Cockburn (1991) states that men use their sexual difference as power and penalize women when they step into male territory, thereby controlling women. Male domination works to lessen the possibility that women will risk losing male approval by identifying with other women in the organization or through feminism. Such male dominance can be characterized as coercive (RosenBaum,1975), as reinforcing female subordination (MacKinnon, 1984), or as the middle-class male's ability to mobilize resources and get what he needs to meet goals (Kanter, 1977). Male power and dominance as such are constituted in interpretive schemes, through the articulation of values, language used, behaviours, and practices demonstrated and structures observed (Walby, 1990).

Discourse or organizational language, refers to more than ways of thinking and producing meaning, but also constitutes the body, the unconscious and conscious mind, and the emotional lives of all of the subjects within the workplace. The discursive production of the nature of women's bodies is central to reconstitution of social norms of femininity, the patriarchal subjection of women, and their exclusion from public life. The most powerful discourses are those institutionalized in society (Weedon, 1987). Discourses are functions of power: they distribute the effects of power. Power is relation-based. It is exercised within discourse and acts to constitute and govern the individuals who internalize it. We can use this explanation to understand power relations between organizational actors and how relations of dependence and independence constitute the experience of social subjects in the workplace. For example, the experience of the independent male ideal worker more likely by definition occupies a position of power than are dependent, non-ideal workers.

To get at the assumption of the "ideal" worker, I draw from Connell (1983), who modifies Gramsci's notion of hegemony in reference to the all-encompassing nature of power, presenting it as a fragmented process of social relations in formation, subject to interpretation, breakdown, and mutation. The dynamics of interaction often deliberately

lead to transformation and change in the oppressive relations that characterize the original hegemony. Although we know people are more than simple bearers of structure, we also know that many dominated women at Public Service remain more than aware of their subordination but do not act to change that fact. Law (1993) provides that a possible explanation for this exists within the organizational discourse. These women must describe their needs within the discourse that not only distorts their needs but defines away their conscious experience. Women at Public Service cannot argue their way out of the dominated category which they are understood to occupy in the sexual division of labour. The type of power operating here forms the terms of the debate within which subjectivities defined as self-conscious awareness (Abercrombie et.al., 1984) and resultant identities, of being dependent or independent, ideal or non-ideal, are defined. This process of definition constrains resistance. It sets the rules which govern how the game is to be played and while the conduct of the game may be challenged, the rules may not. Thus changes to patriarchal advantage and the separation of WF are difficult to accomplish. Existing change programs put in place by organizations rarely go deep enough to change the existing idea systems providing and perpetuating male privilege by embedding it in the organization's culture and members' minds. But we must not think of male power and dominance in organizations as simply something that happens by chance. Male power and advantage in organizations is instead, systemic, and self perpetuating (Cockburn, 1991).

As noted in Chapter 1, the majority of women are employed outside of the home. The fastest growing labour force segment are those women with small children. But women continue to carry the burden of domestic responsibility and the assumption that domestic responsibility is their primary role. Women's emotions and sexuality are routinely exploited, notes Cockburn (1991). The organization's regime involves both officially sanctioned and enforced gendered behaviours. Women most often confront a double day of work (Marshall, 1990; Parliament, 1989; Hochschild, 1989), are paid less than men for

their work, and are considered dependent upon men (Cockburn, 1991), whether they are in fact or not. Thus continued division of WF into public and private spheres remains very much intact in the face of contradictory pressures.

My research focus is resistance to changes in organizations that seek to bridge the gaps between men and women and the spheres of WF. Changes made superficially, or in terms of a short agenda according to Cockburn (1991), represent the minimum and do little to get to the root of the problem. Short-agenda changes are often put in place to fend off the potential damage of broader, government-mandated equal opportunity programs. Such short-agenda or first-order changes serve to coopt internal dissidents and act as window dressing for outsiders. The long-agenda, or what I refer to above as second-order change, however, is rarer, takes longer and requires more substantial kinds of commitment to alter women's experiences within organizations.

As noted above, this theoretical framework emerged as a result of my data collection and analyses. It is presented here for clarity as I move on to discuss key concepts and my analytic focus. In the next two chapters, I present case study information about the organization Public Service and my methods and data collection strategy.

CHAPTER 3. THE STORY OF "PUBLIC SERVICE"

3.1 ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

In this section, I provide background information on the nature, development, and implementation of the research program at Public Service. I then describe the organization's operating interpretive schemes and the larger societal culture in which they are embedded. I also examine the concept of power, especially as an explanation of how organizational culture and decision-making influence the success of WF programs. This is a useful case study to address the research questions raised. I can look specifically at the factors that support or impede the change project, the nature of the ideas and values contained in the interpretive schemes, and the extent to which the underlying interpretive schemes are institutionalized.

Public Service is a Canadian public sector department within a provincial government. The department is referred to as an "organization" here because in operational terms, it functions as a separate, self-contained, and distinctive entity. Without the influence of competition or other market forces, large-scale changes made to such an organization most often reflect the Minister's political will, as interpreted by senior bureaucrats. Changes in that will, or that politician, may thus cause sudden shifts in organizational dynamics. The internal organizational environment thus shifts priorities to reflect political will as opposed to an externally imposed market discipline. The political nature of this organization is a central consideration in my study. There are, of course, other sources of change, such as improving the cost-effectiveness of service delivery and improving the quality of services as perceived by the public-at-large and/or the organization's clients. Such changes are almost certain to be evolutionary, or first-order change. However, the logical extension of

this at the operational level suggests that more profound changes are brought on by shifts in policies or among policy makers.

The overall mission of Public Service is the promotion and provision of human services. At the time of this study beginning in Month 1, year 3, Public Service consisted of two groups of operating divisions. The first group of divisions provided various direct health care services to the public, while the second group provided internal organizational services.

There were approximately 200 managers and supervisors within a group of 2000 (including salaried and waged) employees in this organization. Of the 2000 employees, the majority (71%) were women, their work concentrated in highly structured, lower level clerical positions. Due to the introduction of a voluntary severance package, the overall numbers decreased. Three years later, there were 1728 employees of both salaried and waged status. Of this total, 78% were women. The majority of positions in this organization were lower level. 9% of the remaining 1728 employees were managers. Further restructuring plans include a further reduction of staff primarily through divestiture, bringing the total number of employees to an estimated 800. Due to the constant restructuring and downsizing efforts, Public Service now exists in radically different form.

3.2 IMPETUS FOR WORK-FAMILY CHANGE AT PUBLIC SERVICE

The sequence of main events referred to in this chapter is illustrated in Figure 1. The Women's Committee (WC) was established in response to a larger Government initiative dealing with women's issues. The WC members were a Deputy Minister (DM) appointed with a mandate to explore and develop a proposal to deal with women's issues at Public Service. The women selected for this committee were considered highly committed and motivated employees. Due to a larger WF initiative taking place between the union and the

central personnel agency, Public Service decided to emphasize WF within their larger focus of well-being. The project goal was to design, implement and evaluate a WF program for Public Service. In response to their mandate, the WC designed a questionnaire in Year 2 to find out about overall employee well-being.

Figure 1: Sequence of Main Events at Public Service

Year 1		Establishment of the Women's Committee
Year 2		Development of Women's Committee Questionnaire
Year 3		Beginning to Dismantle the Women's Committee
Year 3		Central Personnel Agency and Union work on Work and Family
Year 3-	month 1	My arrival at Public Service
	month 3	Work and Family Conferences
	month 3	Hiring and Wage Freeze
	month 3	Political and Bureaucratic Leadership change
Year4	month 5	Supportive Work Environment and Exploring Gender Bias in the Workplace Workshops
	month 6	Flexible Work Schedule Pilots
Year 5	month 12	End of Change Project

Shortly after the WC committee work on the initial survey began, the group sent a letter to the Deputy suggesting that the Department and the WC in some way acknowledge a major news story of a particularly brutal and shocking murder of young women. The committee considered such an acknowledgment as further political validation of the committees'

importance. Such validation however, was not forthcoming. After the letter was received, the DM asked the Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM) of Human Resources to take over the project. The WF change project was then reassigned by the DM to the Human Resources (HR) Division of the organization on the grounds that it was a 'people' issue. Whether the Deputy was merely embarrassed or actually threatened by broadening the WC's agenda is difficult to know. His actions, however, were interpreted by employees of the organization as a reprimand to the WC.

The incident foreshadowed further difficulties associated with the WF project and tells us a great deal about the organizations' gender politics, power distribution and actual role of the WC. The women on the committee, all "token" success stories, had been marginalized for attempting to bring an external, politicized agenda into the workplace. The men in power quickly and symbolically downgraded the profile of the committee and resultant project work by reassigning the committee to HR - out of the line organization and spotlight into a corporate staff office. This was a significant change. An individual who occupies a line position is typically visible and directly involved in providing services to the public. These individuals are highly visible. By contrast, a staff position serves the internal organization's goals. These individuals do not make direct contributions to public service but rather, indirect ones making those contributions hard to measure, evaluate (Barney Griffen, 1992), and scrutinize. The committee members knew that the credibility of the project and support for it was undermined as a result of the reassignment to the staff department. But this is not where the dismantling stopped. The Public Service Human Resources ADM then reassigned the project to his Director, requiring the new cross divisional committee to report through this Director, now three reporting levels below the DM. What this meant to the WC was that they no longer had the DM's ear directly but, had to work through an individual three levels lower, who would channel the information up to

the DM, making the probability of being heard or producing action less likely and having their ideas misrepresented or neutralized more likely.

After the reassignment took place, some committee members resigned and were replaced by lower level employees of each representative departmental division. For most of the women on the committee and in the department generally, the dismantling of the WC remained a source of great frustration, anger, and disappointment. It was the committee's collective opinion that any changes implemented as a result of their initiatives needed the DM's support which would now be unavailable to be effective. The remaining members continued on the WC until a major organization-wide questionnaire was complete.

3.3 PUBLIC SERVICE'S CONCEPTION OF CHANGE

I entered Public Service once the preliminary analyses of the questionnaire data were complete. My role in this organization was as the Employee-Change Consultant. I was asked to come to Public Service from the Central Personnel Agency on a secondment to handle their change project. I was also given permission to use the project and data collected for my doctoral dissertation. I will discuss my role more fully in a later section. In my role as a change consultant, I used a mainstream definition of strategic organization change to describe and present the department's approach to change and program development. This approach is reflected in the following definition of change: Strategic change is planned change to structural arrangements and management systems that signals a fundamental shift in the basic orientation of an organization (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988). This type of change involves and reflects the transformation of structures and systems as a result of the displacement of central ideas, values, and beliefs (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988). But as it turned out, the application of this approach to Public Service was an uneasy fit. First, as I have noted above, this definition of change is more appropriately used to describe and analyze the process of strategic change concerned with

the organization's performance in terms of service markets, technological advancements and economic maneuvering. This project was concerned directly with employee well-being, an issue indirectly related to organizational performance. Second, organizational theories of change rely upon a 'top down' manner of implementation, i.e., the senior management makes a commitment to change, expecting subordinate compliance. This level of support has been denied to the WC . Public Service's leadership saw meaningful change as an enhanced economic position in the provision of health care services. WF issues were not a central element in achieving this vision.

Further, it was clear that the definition of change and attitudes toward change did not exactly fit with the type of change project suggested by the questionnaire results and imagined by the WC. The WF change program instead required serious changes to dominant "ideas" regarding WF integration, lack of career development opportunity, and resultant overall well-being. These ideas were not a current priority for the organization. Instead, WF and overall well-being were considered as "social values" and irrelevant to many concerned with economic and performance issues within the organization. We know that organization change theorists considered ideas as important in the overall change process. As I noted above, ideas are referred to as "underlying interpretive schemes". But the important difference highlighted by this project was the type of ideas needing change.

WF concerns were consistent, belonging in the private sphere of the family and not in the workplace. Recognition of this separation of WF is critical for enabling change to occur. My use of theory must not only allow me to track the change, but also to incorporate ideas not traditionally held up as a legitimate impetus for change. For this reason I supplement the selected organizational theories of change to allow me to go beneath organizational and managerial taken-for-grantedness and delve into the underlying interpretive schemes directing and perpetuating patriarchal interpretations and behaviours.

3.4 EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ENVIRONMENTAL PRESSURES FOR CHANGE

Public Service was experiencing many internal and external environmental pressures to address WF issues. Public Service's management had hoped that a change program developed specifically for the department would begin to relieve some of those pressures. The Minister responsible for the department, one of the few female cabinet Ministers, was concerned with WF and well-being issues. Her position reflected wider social concerns around WF issues and how these issues affected female career development, overall health, and well-being. She endorsed the findings from a government publication, The Rainbow Report, concerning women's health issues and trends relevant to the workplace. She also endorsed the joint project underway by the Central Personnel agency and the Union. Ministerial approval and endorsement from Central Personnel were important to Public Service management to maintain the organization's perceived autonomy. However, as noted earlier, WF issues were never wholly endorsed as a central organizational concern by the bureaucrats. Nor did the organization's leadership clarify the connection between the department's planned performance outcomes and this particular HR project. Human resources were often cited by the Minister, the DM and the management team as the most important resource, yet issues of concern to people were not incorporated into the plans to make the organization more competitive and effective. Such an exclusion to some extent explains why HR departments have difficulty becoming business-oriented and central players on the strategic management team (Schuler, 1990) or shifting from a conservative to more strategic human resource management approach (Downie and Coates, 1994). Thus, in this case, there was no clear demonstration of management commitment to the WF change project. Instead, it appeared that work on the WF program began to appease the Minister and to demonstrate both to her and the Central Personnel agency that Public Service was complying to the politcal pressures exerted upon them in some form.

The Central Personnel agency was promoting and urging all Government organizations to give serious consideration to WF issues. In a joint effort with the Union, the Central Personnel agency had designed and distributed the WF survey to all government employees. Public Service's WC had also at that time designed and distributed their questionnaire to all of their departmental members. The joint Union-Central Personnel agency survey data were analyzed, summarized in report form and sent out to all employees. The Public Service's WC questionnaire data were also distributed at that time. Further, the Central Personnel agency then quickly planned and held educational symposia on WF issues for employees. Public Service fell behind the Central Personnel agency in the pace to offer employees WF information. This caused the HR division of Public Service some discomfort, since it was their mandate to be experts and timely providers of information in all health-related areas.

But Public Service's discomfort with falling behind was more than just discomfort with having their expertise upstaged. Traditionally, due to legislated requirements, the Central Personnel agency demanded compliance from all other government departments. As a result of this history the Central Personnel agency developed and nurtured an extremely directive culture that spilled over into all other areas of business. This situation was most extreme in that it made all Central Personnel Agency employees in effect potential spies for the agency. Public Service, like many other departments, resented any Central Personnel agency involvement in their affairs. The threat of the central agency's involvement meant a loss to autonomy as well as a negative impact to Public Service's reputation of "leadership" in WF and well-being issues. The DM and ADMS' of Public Service wished to maintain their perceived position of leadership on the WF agenda and keep their distance from the mandated programs of Central Personnel agency. They were concerned that if they did not act quickly and develop recommendations from the questionnaire, they might be forced to

follow Central Personnel agency's lead, possibly a worse fate than dealing with their own internal politics. The perceived need for this autonomy appeared particularly important to the ADM of the HR division in Public Service. This individual was described to me as having an adversarial relationship with the ADM of the Central Personnel agency, responsible for the fast-tracked WF initiatives. "He doesn't like aggressive women, especially ___ from Central Personnel" female HR manager 4 reported to me. (See illustration 2 for the individuals just referred to). But not all managers in the department were so eager to race the Central Personnel agency on achieving the leadership in WF issues. Instead, there was a predominant mood of ambivalence around the suggested WF change programs. And, surprising to me there was also ambivalence around the political manipulation of the issues.

Beyond the inter-departmental pressures set there were also internal pressures for the HR division to contend with. Employees increasingly complained of WF conflict and criticized management's lack of support for flexible work schedules. Employees offered their interpretations of management's and the organization's lack of support. One employee said that "flextime and staggered work hours were abolished in our branch. Morale and the quality of work-life has drastically decreased as a result." Most of the complaints came from the female employees, who constituted over 70% of the department, and centered around increased stress levels due to WF issues. Employees thought that they and their peers were absent more as a result. Some managers perceived working mothers to be less productive, less committed, and detrimental to the organization's morale. Management saw working mothers and their WF issues as evidence of the potential negative impact of bringing family concerns into the organization, rather than areas where improvements could be made. Managers seemed to assume that accommodation of such concerns would only encourage more employees to take their work less seriously and further reduce commitment and productivity.

3.5 IDEAS ABOUT WORK AND FAMILY, MEN AND WOMEN EMBEDDED IN PUBLIC SERVICE'S UNDERLYING INTERPRETIVE SCHEMES

Another important factor shaping the organization's response to WF issues was a directive management style. Directive management style refers to a heavy reliance on rules and procedure to govern behaviour (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1994). Restrictive management styles are concerned primarily with control and have difficulty shifting from control to commitment (Walton, 1985). The prevailing management style or perspective is therefore an important factor inhibiting change.

Most mangers at Public Service conformed to a very traditional, directive, and rule-oriented style. Some employees told me that the reason for the directive management style was because so many of the executive-level managers were recruited from the Legal department. The transplanted legal culture of the department supported a very rule-bound and control-oriented management perspective. The directive management style was illustrated very early in the process through strict time-keeping and rule boundaries around when it was appropriate for employees to talk, laugh, what type of clothing was acceptable, how long they could take for a break and who with and how many times they could take personal phone calls or leave their desk to use the bathroom. Further, I heard some managers express the view that it was an individual's choice to work, and hence their responsibility to keep their work and family lives entirely separate. One manager said that it was "unprofessional to bring family problems to work." WF integration issues were described by others as "personal" and therefore "irrelevant" to the organization. If an individual was concerned with family and work integration then she was obviously "less committed" to the organization.

The directive management style that expected employees to keep their WF lives separate and conform to the many rules and behavioural expectations was embodied in the organization's culture. Interpretive schemes that support functional and administrative aspects of the organization were reinforced, as was the interpretive scheme that maintains WF as separate spheres of activity. The Public Service culture was controlling, hierarchically-based and divided by gender. For example, older men were predominantly in control at the upper level jobs in the organization, whereas women occupied the lower levels. More 'ideal' reliable male workers held the more responsible jobs and those seen as unreliable, more transient workers - more likely to be absent such as women, especially mothers - held the lesser, more routine jobs.

This gendered distribution of jobs at the time of the study reflected the organization's interpretive scheme assumptions about gender roles and WF responsibility and further differentiated men and women through devices of hierarchical control. Female clerical employees reported that they were watched and/or reprimanded for speaking out of turn or laughing on the job. The environment was highly defensive, lacked trust, and appeared to undermine individual self-respect. Any new program implemented by management was immediately held suspect as a further attempt to exert control. Those discrepancies which so embodied the issues from the literature noted above made this organization an ideal case for learning more about factors which block or support WF programs -- a naturally occurring experiment in change.

My central argument is that WF programs required a fundamental shift in the organization's culture and underlying interpretive schemes regarding the degree to which the organization could accommodate employee personal concerns. Public Service managers were not inclined to comply with this requirement. Rather, they effectively resisted it. In fact, my instruction from the HR director for program design and implementation was that any

changes that were to be implemented had to be approved by our ADM first and could only be implemented if they were "not disruptive to operations " (status quo). We already know where the threshold for disruption was through the department's WC's experience after they asked for political validation. I found the commitment level to the change project to be only superficial. My reasons for this statement are explicated throughout this dissertation.

The next chapter describes my research methods. I begin my discussion of method with a description of my role as researcher, employee, and change agent. I continue in subsequent sections to describe the research design, ethical considerations, data- gathering techniques, and respondent selection. When I move to interpret and understand these data, I draw from the selected theoretical perspectives described in Chapter 2, above.

CHAPTER 4 - RESEARCH SETTING, METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

4.1 RESEARCHER AND CHANGE-AGENT ROLES

I was asked as a member of the Central Personnel Agency to come to Public Service on secondment to design, implement, and evaluate a WF program. I was given permission to use all data collected during the project for my doctoral research. I was explicit in outlining this arrangement from the outset. I was also clear in my bias toward the importance of WF issues. I was not asked to keep the identification of the organization confidential. However, I have endeavoured to do so to protect respondent identities. Public Service's request for my presence facilitated my formal entrance into the organization as a legitimate member of the HR function on the project. Informally, I had also to become a member of the departmental HR team, accepted by them as a contributing, trustworthy individual. Given my membership in the Central Personnel Agency, this was a very difficult task. There was, as suggested above a history of political mistrust between the two departments at the ADM level. I decided to take a low-key posture in the beginning to facilitate this process and accepted most invitations extended for group activities. I deliberately emphasized my student status and asked other employees in my work area for all the relevant information they could provide. In order to conduct my research effectively, I attempted to understand the language, dynamics, and culture of Public Service (Whyte, 1991). I wanted to get as close as I could to understanding the organization as a participant, so that I could better appreciate the organization's customs, values, operations and its people. I proceeded slowly and with a conscious effort to distance myself from any clinging perceptions of my membership in the Central Personnel Agency. I wanted to show participants of Public Service that I was trustworthy and genuinely interested in their goals, and that I was not a central agency spy.

I was careful not to differentiate people by their hierarchical roles because my own organizational experiences had taught me that all participants could contribute a great deal of information and support, or prove skillful at undermining official policies if aggravated. I asked for tours of all operating divisions and explanations of business initiatives. I tried to avoid any challenges from those within the organization who may have felt threatened by my activities. I decided to be honest with them about my research objectives, stressing our common WF interests. This was primarily to deflect the historical animosity between this organization and the one that I came from. The suspicion of my "real" purpose at Public Service held by their HR management and my research team regarding my membership with the Central agency had to be allayed. The research team members and HR management generally, could not only detect, but were expecting, insincere, manipulative behaviour (Marshall, 1989). Further, I knew that I had to remain cognizant of my own ideological bias and try not to exert undue influence for desired outcomes. I personally supported WF integration. I recognized early the need to strive for balance between my perspective and the organization's goals. Even though I cautioned myself on objectivity, I also considered my commitment and sensitivity to the issues a strength.

Glaser (1978) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) note that theoretical sensitivity is derived from the researcher's professional experience, analysis and use of the literature. I knew from my work at Central Personnel Agency that management acknowledgment and commitment to change in the area of WF would be limited, if not fiercely resisted. Upon entering Public Service, I was already trying to figure out how I could more effectively design and implement WF programs to deal with resistance. Further, I had started my investigation of organizational change theories to find out how to improve the program and introduce it in a more palatable language and form. I had come to the realization that

change had to focus on structures and ideas simultaneously, and that a demonstration of commitment to the change project by the organization's leadership was essential.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

To conduct this study, I used a participatory action research (PAR) design. PAR is defined as a process of social change (McLennan, 1989; Whyte, 1991) which focuses on social structure and processes. PAR is not defined as one set of techniques or a body of knowledge to be applied to analyze particular problems. In fact, PAR deliberately asserts that the hegemony of one style alone deprives us of a variety of other methods needed to capture the complexity of our social world (Whyte, 1991). PAR takes as its starting point current problems 'on-site' as defined by key organizational members (Agocs et.al., 1992). The PAR method contains a dual commitment between key organizational members and the researcher to find the problems, the possible solutions and then to implement, evaluate and revise them. I used the PAR approach both as a change agent and a researcher.

Key members of the PAR team consisted of a representative from the Women's Committee, the HR Director I worked for and myself, as the researcher. We also gathered information from individuals representing administrative support and professional employee groups in focus group format as well as management across the department in interview format. Other features of PAR used in this project include:

- a group process that involves the participation of all parties (or their representatives) as members of the action research team;

- a collaborative relationship between interested parties in the organization and independent resource people who do not function as conventional 'experts', but rather contribute advice on methods of scientific experimentation and group processes;

- consensus among the interested parties before attempting the implementation of any experimental changes (for example the work design);

- involvement of participants in monitoring and evaluating the affects of any change, with the proviso that the situation can be returned to its original state if the change produces undesired results;

- an assumption that organizational life is a shared experience in which people are interdependent for their success, and that the commitment of action research resource people is to the organization as a whole, not to any one interest group (whether this be management, supervisors, union, workforce, or in this case - particular divisions within the department);

- an assumption that, most people can and will change if they want to (McLennan, 1989).

PAR is different from the standard professional expert model found in most scholarly organization studies (Whyte, 1991). In the standard model, the expert is called upon to study a situation, or problem, to determine what the facts are, and to recommend a course of action. In this "doctor - patient" model, the expert has full control of the process except where the organization imposes limits. Such a model limits where the goal is to help an organization carry through a major change. The PAR model used requires employee commitment to create a sustained process of organization change, resulting in organizational learning. Making such a commitment allows us to recognize that each problem and situation calls for its own strategy. We gain access to insights from key informants about situations and interpretations. In this way, key informants representing

all employees of the organization became more active participants in the change process. The process itself becomes more meaningful and likely to have a sustained effect.

Another benefit of PAR is that it allows a grounded theory approach to interpret data. Grounded theory implies that organizational meaning emerges from the data itself and thus contributes to both theory and practice (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Theoretical sensitivity was enhanced throughout my analysis of the data. I moved back and forth between data and theory and the WF literature, trying to interpret what was going on. This technique allows for the discovery of theory from data and emphasizes constant comparison and the continual intermeshing of data collection and analysis. It is also important to devise strategies where action and research can be closely linked, as in my project. That is, my goals were to allow for improvement of quality of life within the organization via WF programs, and to contribute to theoretical knowledge (Whyte, 1991).

I used a variety of data collection strategies due to the project's complexity. The comparative analysis of the various data allows me to piece together elements of substantive theory to understand what happened (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This allows me to tap into the many different aspects of the research question (Knafl and Breitmayer, 1986). The use of a variety of data collection strategies is often referred to as triangulation which I define here as the study of some social phenomena using a combination of methods to establish convergent validation and capture a more complete, holistic portrayal of the organization in question (Jick, 1989). I do not attempt to combine research paradigms or epistemology, but merely use various methods for gaining knowledge about the WF change program (Guba and Lincoln, 1983). This approach allowed me to build, create and piece together the many pieces of this complex puzzle known as Public Service as it went through its WF change program.

Once I had finished my preliminary analyses, I returned to two confidants in the organization to check my perceptions. I asked them if they shared my view of specific situations. In both cases, the confidants were able to confirm the meanings I had attributed to events. They also added information and insights regarding pivotal events. These perception checks were an additional phase of the research. In addition, I met with two HR managers to go over my findings as a way to check my interpretations. I have incorporated their ideas into the data already collected to fill gaps. My data sources and selection of respondents are discussed next.

4.3 DATA SOURCES AND RESPONDENT SELECTION

In order to get a holistic view of the organization, I collected several different types of data. I was given unlimited access to files, so I photocopied all documents related to my research topic, mainly the WC questionnaire, information on the Central Personnel Agency, employee well-being and WF. I was also interested in learning about the organizational environment, the nature of the organization's services, divisional specialties, the perception of the women's committee generally, and the larger economic and managerial climate. This information provided a foundation upon which to explore the organization's culture.

I then decided to re-analyze some of the data from the WC questionnaire and checked the relevance of the initial analysis to the project to which I had been assigned. I found the previous analyses and my analysis to be consistent and was comfortable using them as the basis for developing an action plan. I then examined the history of the questionnaire and its intended objectives. I found out that the WC questionnaire was originally distributed in Year 2. The results of the questionnaire were distributed in Year 3, just prior to my arrival at Public Service. Among my responsibilities was to use the questionnaire data to design and implement a departmental WF program for overall employee well-being.

While at Public Service, I observed interactions within the HR division. My research plan was to record any events related to the project and my role in the organization that could have affected the project's outcome. I considered how the process for change itself was developed, what paths were chosen and initiated and which were not, each contributed information, as did how responsibility was delegated, taken and so on. I took note of the stories told, formal and informal behavioural rules, how organization members generally carried out their work tasks, and how they interacted socially in the organization. The recording became an increasingly heavy task as the project progressed and changes in the economic environment occurred. In addition to observations in my own division, I asked divisional managers to set up visits that included an observational 'paper flow tour' to capture the process of work within each unit. I was not always welcomed, however. In some cases in fact, my request seemed very suspect to managers.

I conducted interviews with 36 managers using a semi-open ended approach prior to any interventions. Managers were purposely selected by the HR unit Director and myself to ensure that I had a full appreciation of the range of male, female, positive and negative perspectives that existed within the department. Researchers often deliberately select a sample in this way to ensure important attributes and perspectives are included (Berg, 1989). Following Strauss and Corbin (1990), I used open sampling to uncover as many potential categories as possible. My sample of managers included 16 men and 20 women. Positive and negative perspectives varied little by gender, but were markedly different by division. For example, the insurance division held the most negative views, whereas the public service division held the most positive views. The managers were asked for their thoughts regarding prospective interventions, the outcomes they expected, and what could be done to the interventions to better tailor them to divisional needs. After the study period, as a follow-up, I went back to ask some managers for their opinions regarding the

intervention itself. What changes occurred as a result of the intervention? Were they positive or negative? Why? The research instruments are included in the Appendices.

The interviews documented the values and beliefs underlying managers' behaviour and the many different perspectives existing (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Managers' interpretations of the program were important when trying to redesign for effectiveness and determine where resistance might occur. The face-to-face interviews were conducted in each of the respondent's offices during working hours. All interviews were hand written and then transcribed. I was asked by the HR director not to tape record interviews. The reason for this request was to provide managers a certain comfort level and degree of confidentiality. Thirty-six interviews and fifteen follow-up interviews were transcribed and subjected to analyses. The interviews took approximately 30-40 minutes each and were all conducted during the study period.

The flexible semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed me to probe themes as they emerged. The order of questioning varied by the respondent's natural flow of speech and thoughts. Instruments developed by the PAR team were pre-tested on selected individuals in the department and then revised for broader use.

In addition to interviewing 36 managers, I conducted two focus groups with employees who were selected by managers from a self-nominated group. Interested employees were asked to volunteer and among those interested, cer ain individuals were picked to attend. Again we asked for a range of perspectives. The PAR team members were satisfied that this was the case. Employees were asked for their ideas and opinions on the same interventions using the same questions. Focus groups are a relatively low- cost, fast, and flexible way to bring together several organizational participants for in- depth discussion of ideas and allow for probing and clarification of responses as well as observe nonverbal

behaviours (Denzin, 1978; Fern, 1982; Morgan & Spanish, 1984). Focus groups outperform other groups in the number and quality of ideas generated. Focus groups also permitted the validation of questionnaire data obtained prior to group discussion (Morgan, 1988). This offered the chance to observe participants engaging in interaction while concentrating on the attitudes and experiences of interest (Morgan and Spanish, 1984). Focus groups are one important way to implement the constant comparative method of grounded theory. The interview/focus group protocol is the same and is found in Appendices I and II. I used the same questions with focus group participants and interviewees to allow for a greater degree of comparison. The focus groups were segregated by broad employee occupational level classifications, i.e., administrative support and professional/technical groupings. The Executive level management group were invited to provide comments on the written results of the questionnaire.

The interviews and focus groups served an important function. I was able to gauge employee perceptions of the questionnaire and resultant Strategy for Action regarding:

- what was feasible;
- what was most needed by different contexts;
- where the main sources of resistance might originate; and
- what underlying ideas were at work within the culture.

Finally, I examined the program evaluations of the WF program implemented. I considered possible impacts of the programs by examining information prior to, during, and after the implementation. I also collected comparative information from other organizations that supported WF programs. I wanted to build in an overall comparison group with which to contrast Public Service's program. The comparison included, however, is cursory. A full comparative case design was out of the question given time and resource constraints. However, it was possible to build in some elements of case

comparison by using information from well-known organizations already in the public domain. The information published by these organizations was useful for this dissertation in that it provided examples of: 1) other WF programs; 2) dealing with manager's resistance; and 3) combining social and economic influences as a viable impetus for change. To fill in some of the gaps in the avialable documents, I also contacted representatives of the respective organizations. Where relevant I have indicated what information was acquired through personal communication.

4.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research design and methodology for this project was scrutinized according to the existing ethical procedures of the study organization as well as by the university. The proposal conformed to the usual conventions of anonymity and confidentiality and was, therefore, approved by the ethics review committees of both organizations. All identities have been disguised as has the department's name, documents referred to and the actual years in which the study occurred. Prior to participating in and collecting data, all participants were read a statement describing the project and role within it and asking for their consent to participate in it. I promised confidentiality and anonymity to all participants and offered to destroy the raw data once transcribed and change and disguise their names, identities, divisions and the organization itself. These things I have done. Transcriptions now do not contain any real names or places or other identifying information.

CHAPTER 5. FAILURE TO CHANGE UNDERLYING INTERPRETIVE SCHEMES AT PUBLIC HEALTH

5.1 INTRODUCTION OF WF CHANGE PROJECT COMPONENTS

The new programs that were developed and implemented from the Public Service Strategy for Action during Year 3-4 included:

- a communication strategy announcing and supporting workplace well-being and family friendly programs;
- encourage management of attendance and support of Work and Family conferences;
- two workshops intending to create a more supportive work environment; and
- two pilot tests of flexible work schedules.

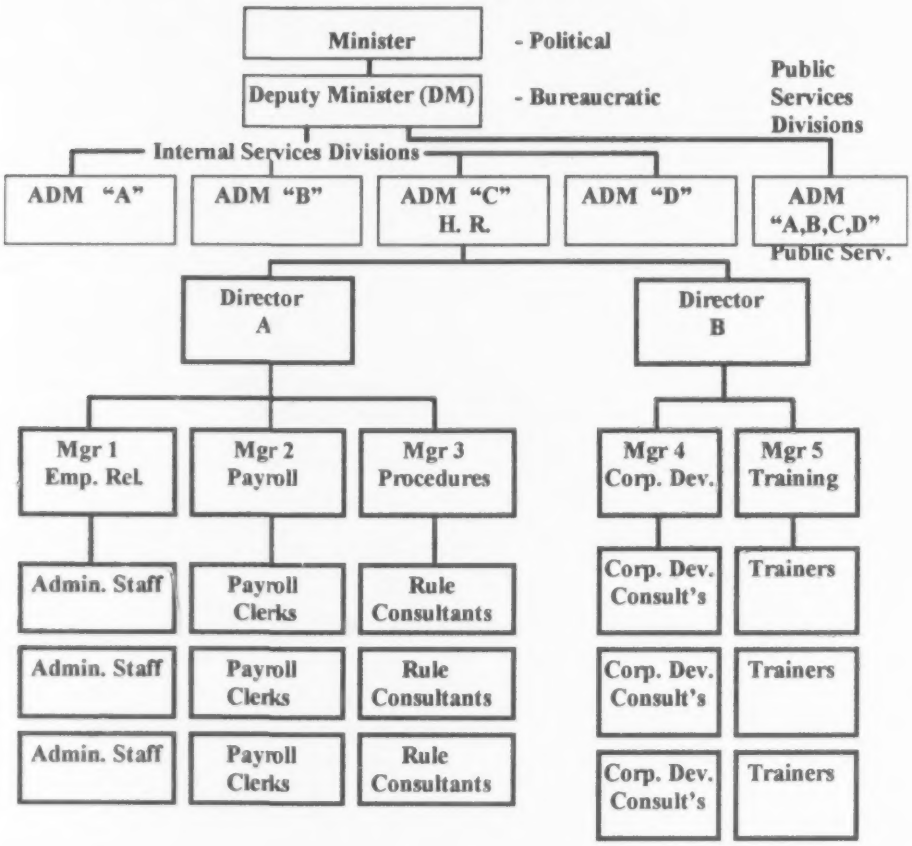
The first three components of the strategy were designed to produce changes to underlying interpretive schemes, thus moving Public Service from a non-family-friendly organization to a family-friendly organization. These programs failed in their goal to produce change. Employees -- management and non-management alike -- did not regard the change programs as serious attempts to implement or model change. The last program implemented, involving a slight variation to work schedules, also supported WF change. However, this flexible work schedule program also failed in its goal, as only modest changes to work schedules were implemented in the host division. Again, the WF changes resulted in superficial adjustments, leaving the underlying problems intact. The minimal programs implemented to achieve family-friendliness or produce a more family-friendly (FF) archetype might be seen as initial successes, but any gains made were temporary. The programs were implemented in such a way that allowed the pervasive management control orientation and their status quo advantages to remain intact. I will comment further on this in a later section. Individuals did not believe "real" support for the change project existed

and the majority of management as a group did not participate in any of the programs. WF programs were merely considered extra privileges for female employees. In the following sections, I briefly describe how each of the WF programs affected underlying interpretive schemes and organizational structures. In terms of my evaluation, I use the following criteria:

- the ability to produce a FF archetype;
- the creation of meaningful change; and
- how the organization deals with underlying concerns about WF - examples include lack of support, flexibility for those with WF issues and perceptions that those with WF issues are less serious about their careers.

Figure 2 below illustrates all organizational members and respective units referred to in this chapter.

Figure 2 Public Service H.R. Division Organizational Chart



5.2 CHANGE PROGRAM COMPONENTS

5.2.1 The Communications Strategy

The WC questionnaire data were presented to Public Service's executive committee by the HR manager 4 in Year 3 month 1. The HR management decided to second an individual to develop a strategy for action from the survey data. Concurrently, the Central Personnel Agency was in the middle of a far reaching work and family initiative. They had distributed their survey findings to all government departments. Public Service therefore decided to begin their workplace well-being initiative with the WF theme as well.

The first part of the communication strategy included the use of Official Memos. HR director B, HR manager 4 and I, as a WF consultant, met in Year 3, month 1 to develop a Strategy for Action from the WC questionnaire. The strategy was developed and underwent a series of revisions prior to and after its submission to the ADM. Once satisfied with the revised Strategy for Action, the ADM sent the document to his executive committee colleagues in Year 3, month 3. He planned to present the strategy for discussion at his executive committee meeting and asked that his colleagues "approve in principle the implementation of our short-term strategy at this time." Executive Committee members provided the ADM with comments on the strategy paper at the meeting and agreed to send written responses to the Corporate and Human Resource Development (CHRD) branch. The ADM agreed to make the suggested enhancements/changes to the document prior to implementation of the short-term strategy.

Comments on the Strategy for Action were received from Executive Committee members. Overall, Executive Committee members supported the Strategy for Action, stating that there was a need for "consideration of programs under an umbrella group" of programs. There was also a recognition by the majority of the need for flexibility in existing work schedules and the ability to allow for differing needs. Some divisions however were more cautious,

waiting for the results of the flexible work schedule pilots prior to making any commitment to make changes. They aproved of the strategy, but they wanted to see the Deputy demonstrate his commitment to the change first "through management performance appraisals".

The various responses exemplified the divisional cultures. The PAR team decided to target the divisions where most employees were very interested in flexible work schedules. I found the Public Services-D division to have an extremely controlling management culture. Management in this organization had only recently removed an employee time clock. They did not respond positively to the idea of piloting flexible work schedules and spoke of the need to reinstate the time clock if they were ever to consider flexible work schedules. In fact, they reacted negatively to all of the programs suggested. Interestingly, as shown in Table 1, it was precisely this division in which 90% of employees indicated a desire for flexible work schedules.

Table 1

Employee Desire for Flexible Work Schedules by Division

Division	% of Employee Agreement regarding Desire for Flexible Work Schedules
External Services Divisions	
Public Services-A	75
Public Services-B	78
Public Services-C	79
Public Services D	90
Public Services E	73
Internal Services Divisions	
Internal Services-A (HR)	86
Internal Services-B	90
Internal Services-C	85
Internal Services D	83

Source: Public Service, Year 2 questionnaire

We found out that the other three divisions that we had targeted already had many informal flexible work arrangements in place. They were interested in flexible work schedules but

did not wish to participate in the pilot project, opting instead to formalize existing arrangements. In other areas such as HR, however, formalization of flexible arrangements was not desired. Flexible work schedules were still found by Director A to be fraught with problems. In his opinion, formalizing would limit flexibility instead of improving access to flexibility. We decide to target the Public Services - D division as they did not yet have informal arrangements and, as noted above, appeared to adhere strictly to keeping time controls. I thought at the time this division would not only prove to be the most challenging but also, due to the strict time keeping and lack of interest in employee issues in the division, that it might be the best site to enlighten us as to what forms of resistance might exist.

Historically, the Public Services - D division was rule-driven and controlling. The control orientation was clearly near the surface of the persistent culture. I asked for a tour of the area and found it to be striking. I felt I had stumbled upon a living example of office Taylorism. In my field notes, I recorded my own feelings and impressions of the area: "When I looked at the teams [this is how the manager described them], I saw clusters of desks all crammed in with a supervisor watching them. The others facing her. There were only two men in the whole unit. The unit was predominantly female clerks. It seemed cluttered to me. Paper was piled up all over the place. The trays on the desks were full of paper. I worried about brushing into it as I passed the desks and sending it over. I had a claustrophobic feeling as I walked through. All eyes were on me. I felt like an intruder. I wanted to learn more of this division from the employees working there. When I returned to HR I asked Candy [a woman who used to work in the area] to help me understand and explain to me what it was like to work in Public Services D. I had a feeling it might be different from what I had just heard from the manager. There was something wrong there. The desks were arranged in an oppressive way with the supervisor overseeing operations. This was how the job was defined. I talked with Candy. She told me that Public Services

D was "very controlling and there's no flexibility. "It gets hard to ask" she said "because you constantly must ask, bow down and get permission. We weren't allowed to talk. I got into lots of trouble." Candy told me that she was punished for laughing. They punished her by moving her desk to face a corner for 4 months. She said "yea, where's the dunce cap." Employees in this division are not permitted to laugh or chat. They were docked 15 minutes pay if even one minute late or if they leave one minute early. The are held to prescribed hours of 8:15 to 4:30 regardless of circumstances. There appeared to be no flexibility or understanding and support for work and family concerns. The director in conversation said to me laughingly, "Their issues aren't real, you can always take them apart." He implied that women fabricated stories simply to escape work and the workplace early and appeared to have no idea of the hardships that some of them experienced. I found great resistance toward WF issues. I was not able to implement anything in this division. Change to family-friendliness was resisted altogether and a strong managerial bias against women remained.

In Year 3, month 3, the Training branch advertised a series of workshops which supported issues raised in the WC questionnaire. Given the high level of interest in the Central Personnel Agency's work and family conferences and the limited number of seats available to departmental employees, a workshop on the topic of integrating work and personal life was added. The WF workshop was planned for Year 4, month 5 but was canceled due to a 25% reduction in the training budget and the decision by HR to cooperate with a number of other departments in offering subsequent WF conferences instead.

Staff at an HR unit meeting noted that there had been questions concerning the possibility of piloting flexible work schedules. The manager of the unit was to follow up on the questions and deal with a few outstanding process issues around the pilot implementation.

We had to obtain approval from the ADM before we could proceed with the pilots and the HR Director B was still working on our strategy debriefing for the ADM.

The DM sent a memo to all Public Service employees about the WC questionnaire and resultant strategy for action, committing Public Service and all management to the WF and well-being programs. The memo read as follows:

> The current economic environment is causing all of us, in both our personal and work lives, to reassess our goals and values. Cost-cutting, downsizing, and "doing more with less" are just some of the responses to these changing times. As a result, I feel that it is more important than ever to continually strive to improve the communication among us all. With staff reductions, additional workloads and the impact of new technology there are now more opportunities than ever to make significant changes. In short, there is a need to reaffirm our commitment to strategies to creatively address these work-life issues.
>
> We know from your responses to the Work-life Questionnaire that we have a lot of work to do to realize our potential as an organization. We believe that this effort is imperative to our future successes. We need to develop mechanisms to incorporate additional employee input into our decision making processes and to responsibly employ Personnel Agency employees to get on with the job.
>
> We have recently completed a Strategy for Action based on the Work-life Questionnaire data and information collected from a cross section of individuals in the department. This comprehensive Strategy for Action reflects both employees' and managers' views and preferences and is strongly supported by Executive Committee. Included in the strategy are pilots of flexible work schedules, development of an in-house employee assistance program, and managerial training programs on Creating Supportive Environments." The details of the first phase of our Strategy for Action will be published in a special edition of an upcoming Women's Program Newsletter and the next edition of Informally Yours.
>
> Together, I know we can make a difference. Thank you for your valued input.

Following the DM's memo, the departmental newsletter editorial board outlined a series of articles to advertise and support the work being done with the questionnaire. The first article was planned for Year3 month 3 and encouraged participation at the central personnel agency's Work and Family conference. The article "Our Opinions Count" was the lead article in the Year 3, Month 3 newsletter. The newsletter informed employees following the DM's official memo, that "action is now being taken in response to the questionnaire

distributed to all Public Service employees in Year 2. The article recounted the history of the initiative from the Women's Program committee who developed and analyzed the survey data and presented 26 recommendations for action . A summary of the 26 recommendations was provided, with more information promised in a later newsletter.

The HR division provided a series of articles for the Year 4, Month 5 newsletter. The first outlined the Strategy for Action. The article, entitled "Strategy for Action," reminded employees of the 26 recommendations from the questionnaire printed in the previous newsletter. The previous article had promised to reflect on those recommendations more thoroughly in the next issues. It was noted that "one of the key strategies in responding to much of the survey is through the corporate wellness program. This program focuses on Public Service, its employees and their well-being at work, home and with their families. The corporate wellness 'reason for being' is to support and reflect the needs of Public Service employees and integrate them with the needs of the organization. It is an important program, one helping to overcome many of the concerns addressed in the work-life survey." The article also discussed short-term strategies as sanctioned by the Executive Committee.

A second article on "Creating a Flexible Work Environment" was also published in this edition. This management training session was advertised as focusing on work and family issues, specifically how to create supportive and flexible work environments. The training program was advertised as an opportunity to provide the leadership needed for a changing organization.

A third article, forthcoming about the WF conferences, was also published in this edition. Public Service employees who attended the first conference provided positive feedback. This article announced the plans for two further conferences representing a collaborative

effort between several government departments including their own again reinforcing the department's commitment to the change agenda. Four other government departments known as the Central Personnel Agency, Public Service, the Engineering, City and Environmental Concerns departments all participated in planning this event.

A later WC newsletter discussed the questionnaire. It noted that after months of coding, analyzing (and re-analyzing!), the WC questionnaire report was completed. The WC expressed pride in the report and its recommendations, which were presented to members of Executive Committee by the ADM of the Human Resource Division. WC members were pleased with the favourable comments received from the Executive group and with the actions already taken to implement some of the recommendations. They described the meetings that had taken place in an effort to validate the questionnaire findings. These meetings confirmed the issues brought forward in our survey and the fact that action was required. Several initiatives were underway or planned, focusing on three theme areas: a supportive workplace environment, work and family issues, and career. Employees could look forward to brown bag presentations on a variety of work-life issues, two workshops, one on creating supportive environments and the second counteracting gender- based barriers in the workplace, and flexible work schedule pilots to name a few. The article concluded with phase 1 strategy in brief. These memos and newsletters showed the commitment of all important stakeholders in the department. However, cynicism among the managers regarding the "true" level of support remained. One male manager said:

> Talk is cheap...its easy to say all this, but, how to change it. I don't know. Put your money where your mouth is, I'm really cynical of things that come out as the flavour of the day. It has to be sustained commitment over time, there is nothing you can do otherwise...we are not delivering on things...don't over promise. (Male Manager, R.)

This manager like others, pointed to a lack of perseverance and demonstration of commitment to WF issues. He did not see that the statements made appeared to be

followed up with actions. His belief in changes directed toward family-friendliness was therefore suspended pending demonstration.

This manager was not unlike many of his peers. The executive group including the ADM of HR and, even to some extent, members of the PAR team were espousing the values and commitment to the change, but their inaction spoke louder. We were told by the ADM "not to be disruptive, to check everything out with him prior to implementing". This requirement acted to dilute all programs, making their effect negligible instead of meaningful. This problem is most obvious with the flexible work schedule example. Changes made were largely superficial. Communications on WF were written and officially espoused. But no one noticed anything different in terms of management's behaviour. Management control orientations and rule bound systems remained unshaken and intact. Underlying attitudes and beliefs surrounding controls were not questioned.

The PAR team recommended attendance at the second series of WF conferences as its next attempt to produce change. The conference was an educational strategy intended to have an impact on underlying interpretive schemes.

5.2.2 The Work and Family Conferences

The HRD division reported that 120 Public Service employees attended the Central Personnel Agency's first WF conference in Year 3, month 3. A slight majority of attendees were administrative support level employees. However, a fair representation of professional and managerial employees also attended from across departments. Employees from all divisions were represented. Due to the tremendous response and the many disappointed employees who were unable to attend, it was suggested that investigation into further events be conducted. Two subsequent conferences were planned. For the south region, conference, 117 Public Service employees attended, the largest group

(46%) of which was administrative support employees. Similarly, the majority of the 327 attending the north region conference were administrative support employees. Management of the department appeared to consider the WF conferences as an administrative support event. The management group only represented about 19% of total participants and the professionals 35%.

Participants evaluated the conferences as a success. For example:

> I found the vital balance symposium to be a relevant picture of the issues surrounding balancing work and family life. It was reassuring to me to see that I was not alone in the problems I have encountered since returning to work. I feel that the symposium would be a beneficial tool for all staff in phone inquiries.

Employees also provided written comments to the PAR team regarding the conferences. They believed they had gained useful information from the conferences. However, participants noted that to be effective in the organization with some of the suggestions and getting ideas across to management, "we needed first to create an environment of open communications and understanding." This view was reinforced by other comments received during the project from management and non-management employees regarding the perceived success of WF being contingent on changing managerial and organizational culture. One employee wrote to me confidentially and said "I believe that all present managers and directors (young and old alike) could benefit from a type of compulsory training for being supportive." This sentiment was underscored by some members of the WC who insisted that "for change to occur, mandatory management training is essential given the traditional, controlling management culture." Two individuals told me on different occasions that without this I was "wasting my time."

Instead of mandatory or compulsory attendance at the conferences and later workshop events, we were told we could only recommend that managers and supervisors attend. Our

approach was interpreted as a passive invitation, not a required or recommended action. Further, managers saw the "invitation" as an opportunity to send female employees interested or struggling with WF issues. Management did not appear to be concerned with WF issues. Follow-up information or reports on how to improve the work-site upon completion of the event was not expected of participants. As an educational initiative to alter male biases in the organization's culture and foster new ways of thinking and behaving in the workplace, although very popular among lower level employees, the conferences failed to achieve their change agenda. I observed few changes in managerial behaviour or organizational structure. Attitudes did not appear to shift . There was little if any emphasis placed upon relaying conference information back to the larger group.

The most direct educational attempts to change underlying interpretive schemes were the workshops specifically targeted at the management group. The workshops focused on exploring gender role biases in the workplace and creating flexible and supportive working environments. Again, at the request of the ADM, attendance was invited rather than required. This irked the WC members, as they believed nothing would change as a result to speaking to the "already converted" on WF issues. Still, the workshops proceeded with WF change as their goal.

5.2.3 The Workshop Exploring Gender Role Bias in the Workplace

The Exploring Gender Role Bias in the Workplace workshop was designated originally as a later phase offering in the change plan, but was instead held early. Members of the WC advised manager 4 of the HR branch that this workshop was very important to them, that we should offer it immediately, and that management attendance be required. Members of the WC also communicated to manager 4 their continued annoyance with the reassignment of the change project to HR. Manager 4's response to move the workshop forward was

an attempt to appease the annoyed WC members. The workshop was offered in Year 4, month 5 of the project.

Workshop facilitators (one male, one female), began by introducing themselves as new to the subject area and said they had been asked to work on the workshop to improve their own levels of awareness. The male facilitator announced at the beginning of the workshop that he did not "know of any biases at [Public Service]. I don't really know why we are doing this." His comment appeared to cause some confusion in the room. I found the comment to be misleading. The male facilitator had been selected by the HR unit manager because he was a father of four children and had a wife who worked in the home. It was intended that he could put the "traditional" people in the group [and in our management] at ease. He did not want this group to feel attacked. So a representative member was chosen as a leader. But, this choice did not seem to be an effective tactic. Later a workshop participant noted that he had the impression that "the male facilitator felt himself on trial. He was overly careful in his vocabulary."

Neither workshop facilitator selected had strong grounding in the subject area. I raised this issue prior to the workshop session and was told that the "choice of facilitators was deliberate as they would be less offensive to the majority who were not supportive of feminists." I noted that this comment was directed to me. My role in this workshop was to be only that of participant and observer. I had been asked by the facilitators to assist them during the workshop when called upon regarding content, specifically the elaboration of the strategy. I agreed to the role so as to not jeopardize the change program that I was assigned to carry out. I was also very concerned not to affect the quality of my research.

Facilitators noted that given dramatic demographic changes, we all need to become better able to understand the roles that women and visible minorities play in the workplace.

Participants were challenged to assess their own personal beliefs and biases regarding work roles. Although this one-day workshop was adapted from an existing two day program developed by another government department , Public Service, planned to address a broader range of issues.

The Public Service workshop objectives were to:

- enhance employees' self-understanding by exploring personal attitudes and beliefs regarding women and visible minorities in the workplace;
- identify obstacles facing women and visible minorities in employment and pre-employment situations;
- explain current changes in the employment environment; and
- develop strategies to deal with unwanted personal biases.

At the beginning of the workshop, participants were asked to describe what they thought of was the "ideal working person." The summary of participants' thoughts indicated that the ideal working person was neither typically male or female. Participants were then asked to consider what role personal skills such as managing time, communicating effectively with others, balancing competing demands, played in their personal lives and careers beginning at childhood. This moved the group easily into socialization and Kanter's (1972), "Tale of O" to consider the need for affirmation of different characteristics. Participants were asked to share a time when they felt like an "O" with each other. They were then asked to identify the "O's" in Public Service and indicate what structural barriers they thought "O's" faced in the workplace and how those barriers diminished their effectiveness. O's were described as being channeled into specific jobs, such as HR female managers. The group was then asked to identify what assumptions and biases about working women were operating in the organization's culture. We wanted to get at the underlying interpretive schemes governing behaviour and attitudes at Public Service. Some of the comments highlighted were that:

> women were working for frills...they neglect their children...are hard to work for... sleep their way to the top... aren't committed... get sick more often than men... take more time off than men...take jobs away from men.... don't need to work.... don't want to work.... there are many jobs that women cannot do.... their hormones affect their job performance.

Unlike the earlier socialization exercise, this task revealed more stereotypical images or perceptions of working women. The participant group was able to articulate cultural biases and assumptions about working women easily. However, the group also appeared very well versed in what were and were not acceptable attitudes. Thus, it was difficult to determine where the socially desirable responses stopped. We had to dig deeper to find out. Participants were asked, "where do these biases come from? How true are they at Public Service" What can happen when women internalize these biases?" To bring the questions and experiences of bias into focus for the workshop participants, we used short video segments of scenarios. The group was to view the segments and complete further exercises.

Participants identified key issues around bias and developed strategies for dealing with them as a group. Some of the key issues that arose were time, finances, stress, deadlines, guilt, lack of management concern for staff problems, short staffing, communication problems, work and home issues, keeping knowledge current, stress, employer attitudes, and the public's stereotypes of lazy civil servants. The groups' suggested several strategies for dealing with the issues. Some of the ideas raised in area of WF included: full implementation of flexible working hours, including part-time and work at home; allowing earned time off; consideration of employees'specific needs; subsidizing day care; and combining casual and family sick time so that an employee would not be forced to lie when her children were sick. Other ideas to improve workplace experiences included: provision of upgrading; employer-provided personal and professional support ; job search assistance; cross training, and allowing employees to say "NO" to overtime.

In sum, the workshop provided participants with an opportunity to discuss both actual and hypothetical workplace gender-role biases. However, it was not clear how the workshop could contribute to change. The key theme of understanding and eradicating gender bias to allow for successful WF integration was not clearly articulated in the course. Participants recognized this shortfall and noted that the workshop needed to "be more focused." They observed that the workshop seemed to "skip from topic to topic without any clear overall theme." In my view, we should have worked harder to target the audience more closely and provided more related workplace examples. We could have asked how O's deal with racial jokes, nicknames...how do hiring/promotion practices really work ...are there subtle biases used by managers and/or preconceived harmful ideas? Should the organization accommodate the O's who are single women who can't get to work on time? Instead the workshop tried to cover too much, consequently treating the subject artificially and superficially in a disjointed and hurried manner. We needed to ask why the course was needed in the first place and what remedial steps could be taken.

It might have been more fruitful to begin with a clear focus on existing gendered biases and start the day with a general discussion of them to set the tone. By identifying the potential different forms of bias possible, participants could have focused on the concept itself without internalizing it and becoming defensive. But the HR manager and specifically the two workshop facilitators opposed this more direct approach. The selection of facilitators, the weak invitation to prospective participants and presentation of content was all presented so to not to offend the status quo. Instead of lending legitimacy to the issues, the workshop was set up to fail.

Despite reports by some participants that the workshop exposed gender bias, it was <u>not</u> successful in altering underlying interpretive schemes regarding gender-role biases.

Participants were largely an audience of sympathetic employees. But most important, participants left feeling that their time had not been well spent and that the project was not hitting the mark in terms of getting at the cultural ideas and management approaches in need of change. Consider the following participants' comments:

> I guess at the end I had to say 'so what?' Bias and how it affects the workplace in terms of lost resources, ideas, strategies etc. were never addressed. It all seemed to come down to if you are a good person and want to see social justice done, heightening your awareness will do it...I don't necessarily agree with this philosophy.
>
> The fact that there were so few men here speaks to men's reluctance to be part of our education regarding biases. So, my guess is that the corporate culture i.e., men are reluctant to or dismiss the whole process. There needs to be a strong message sent from the leader for the benefit of the organization that this is an issue that must be addressed.

At no point during the workshop were attending managers clear that gender-role biases evident in the organization's culture prevented successful WF integration. Nor were they clear that gender-role biases were at work preventing success of the change project. These participant managers were self-proclaimed as the already converted with respect to the need for change. Their expressed disappointment with the workshop and the fact that they considered it a waste of their time was an extremely important piece of information.

5.2.4 The Workshop to Create a Flexible and Supportive Workplace

The "Creating a Flexible and Supportive Workplace Workshop" pilot was another attempt to create change at the level of ideas. It was also intended that participants would gain practical "how to" information from the workshop to create structural change. The workshop was offered in Year 4, month 5. It was scheduled for two half- day sessions to allow target management participants scheduling flexibility. This was crucial to the success of the WF change project. The Work-life Survey results had indicated clearly that Public Service's environment was non-supportive and non-flexible. The approach intended to model flexibility and improve the participation rate. The possibility for subsequent off-site programs to accommodate those in remote locations or to deal with intact work groups was

also considered. Interested participants were invited to advise the CD unit of their intention to attend the workshop. Confirmation memos and an overview of the workshop were sent to participants.

The purpose of the workshop was to give Public Service managers and supervisors a good understanding of what a supportive environment was, why supportive environments were important for achievement of overall family friendliness, and how they could actually create a flexible and supportive environment. The workshop's intended audience was managers and supervisors. Its objectives were to enhance participants' abilities to:

- identify a family supportive versus defensive work environment;
- anticipate what needs to be and can be done to correct the WF imbalance;
- devise an action plan from a variety of alternatives for making the environment more supportive for employees;
- implement programs to achieve a more supportive environment;
- evaluate the strategy ongoing for successes and failures and modify as required;
- develop a support network with other managers on the course for future WF problem solving discussion; and
- provide individuals with WF information and resources as needed.

Managers were informed that the first half-day of the workshop would consist of information intended to increase their awareness. Topics included organizational "paradigm shifts", supportive versus defensive work environments, barriers and facilitators to supportive environments and alignment of espoused and realized values and behaviours. The second half- day would develop "how to" implementation skills. Individuals had the opportunity to participate in problem solving for creating supportive environments. A

subsequent program on how to implement flexible work schedules was planned to provide further skills for participants.

There were 21 attendees at the pilot session, 12 of whom were managerial, while nine were non-managerial professionals.

At this workshop, we discussed basic ideas about organizational change. As a facilitator, I started with the idea that in order to move the organization to a more flexible and supportive one, a "paradigm shift" was required. A paradigm, according to Kuhn (1970), is defined as a general way of seeing the world that dictates what kind of work should be done and what kinds of theory are acceptable. The concept of paradigm was further defined by Public Service as a set of rules and regulations that define the boundaries of behaviour and within which the terms of success are specified. The situational specificity of the existing paradigm at Public Service made it difficult to fully define the new paradigm (Ray et.al., 1993). Old and new organizations, movement from controlling to facilitative orientations, creating higher levels of commitment, creative thought, positive conflict and problem solving and the need for mutual support groups were all issues relevant to shifting organizational paradigms.

The group agreed that each paradigm contains a set of values, beliefs and assumptions about the rules and regulations that govern the organizations' boundaries. Change often means a whole new set of assumptions, different values and different beliefs about the rules governing the organizational boundaries. Participants were encouraged to differentiate between old and new organizations when considering paradigm shifts.

We then discussed different management styles, and, to support and understand WF concerns, the need to move from a control to facilitative management orientation. It was

noted that in the past, compliance to work productivity demands was accomplished through reward and punishment. Instead of centralized decision making, participants agreed that involvement in decisions would lead to commitment. It was no longer appropriate to assign tasks to an individual, and then manipulate their performance with rewards and punishments. Instead, tasks were described as increasingly complex and inter-dependent, requiring a different management approach. One alternative given was team work. Participants thought greater team work was required, as well as decision making by and among employees. In some organizations, employees were making their own decisions about which tasks would be completed and by whom, or how they would take turns rotating tasks or choose to specialize in one particular task. The new type of manager needs to help the team make decisions and assure that the process is functioning well.

Team-based organizations have experts working across functions or disciplines, taking responsibility for entire processes that serve customers. Employees who work in teams are often trusted to self-manage their teams to varying degrees. A team-based model can accommodate an individual's WF issues when they come up. The team organizes work and can provide for the support and flexibility sometimes needed by members. The traditional rigid structure with several layers of management prevalent at Public Service offers a contrasting model. The more traditional, hierarchical model is less flexible, less able to accommodate WF issues.

Within the workshop, we discussed how an emphasis on creative and innovative thinking allowed for novel, flexible and useful solutions to problems. Employees who are encouraged to think differently at times develop new directions crucial to strategic and successful paradigmatic change.

Obstacles to a re-orientation that provides for creative and innovative thinking include a fear of failure among organization members. This was relevant at Public Service. Many were unwilling to try new things because they feared failure, discipline, and job loss. I remember often hearing the comment at Public Service, "this is an important project politically, so do what you think but don't screw it up." In order to foster creative thinking, failure must be used as a learning experience. Instead of innovation, organization members at Public Service tended to be realists who saw resources as they were -- not what they could be. Members appeared to rest on their expertise and when something came that they were uncomfortable with, they disagreed and blocked innovation. The higher the stakes, the more conservative the decision making became, lessening the propensity to take risks and produce creative solutions.

The workshop discussion then shifted into a description of defensive versus supportive environments within organizations. The group was asked to focus on Public Service. They were asked what was needed to facilitate team work where innovative and creative thought was expected. This was a difficult task for the workshop participants, given that team work and a facilitative approach were not currently advocated by management. They noted that in order to operate in such a manner, an individual needs to feel secure and encouraged to seek good solutions. The quality of a problem-solving environment is closely linked to the organization's ethics regarding communication behaviours during conflict. People are able to reach their potential only when psychologically free and not fearful of disagreement, and when their beliefs, opinions and values are acceptable in interaction regardless of how different they are. Organizations spend a large amount of money on training for problem-solving skills and conflict resolution, hoping that this training will contribute to the organization's outcome. Conflicts are also created by the organization's environment and how that environment contributes to defensiveness or supportiveness. This is the reason that we must consider the organization's environment if

we are able to successfully change to a new style of organization and as a result make a successful paradigm shift.

The groups were then asked to focus specifically on Public Service as a workplace, describing it as an old or new paradigm, Supportiveness or Defensiveness. How has Public Service changed over the last few years? Can it change further? What needs to happen first? In general, the group did not understand why the exercise was used in the workshop given the department's diversity and lack of support for the change initiative. They said, it is "difficult to characterize [Public Service] because so many divisions had such different aspects. We are defensive, supportive and everything else in between. Instead, we need to look at each division and branch." The cultural diversity in this organization and the difficulty to produce change as a result was underscored.

To actually get at the level where change was needed, the group was challenged to look at deeply-held assumptions about organizational life and male and female roles and seek alignment between old and new ideas, values, beliefs, policies, procedures and operations. The survey data collected at the beginning of the first day was presented to facilitate this discussion. The following summary, in Table 2, shows mean scores on a 5-point scale for each statement, calculated from responses using a Likert Scale where 1 represents strong disagreement, and 5 strong agreement.

Table 2

Pre-course Survey Data regarding Manager's Perceptions of Work/Family Issues

	Mean score on a 5 point scale where 1=strongly disagree and 5=strongly agree
• Employees' productivity on the job is affected by family concerns	4.2
• Workplaces that provide work and family policies have higher morale	4.0
• Employees who take time off for family reasons are NOT dedicated to careers	1.5
• Childcare is an important benefit that organizations should provide	3.0
• Job sharing is a useful option for mothers of small children	4.2
• Flextime helps employees balance their work and personal/family life	4.2
• Women with young children should NOT work outside of the home for pay	1.5
• Men rarely stay home from work if their children are sick	3.5
• Absenteeism is a problem among working parents	2.7

(n=36 managers)

Source: Pre-course information for Public Service's Creating Supportive and Flexible Work Environment Workshop Pilot

Group findings reflected the literature on WF (Hyland, 1990; Armstrong et.al., 1988; 1985; 1984; Bielby et.al., 1989; Hochschild, 1989) as well as Public Service's questionnaire findings and findings by the central personnel agency and union is cross-

government work and family survey. Most workshop participants agreed strongly that employee productivity was affected by family concerns. Strong agreement also existed around the statement that workplaces that provide WF policies or programs tend to have higher morale. Similarly, most agreed strongly that flexible work scheduling was the most common alternative to use for dealing with the issues. I was interested to note the support for the comment "job sharing is useful to mothers of small children" . In other words, WF issues were women's issues. Further, respondents agreed that men less often stayed home with sick children. Both of these comments reflect the gendered division of labour, as well as assumptions about how the gendered division of labour should operate.

I asked the participants to consider these findings and give possible explanations. I wanted them to identify the obstacles involved and then build manageable steps for change. Participants identified changes such as flexible work schedules, but noted that the key was how to challenge values when implementing programs and deal with individuals on the schedules. The group agreed that managers and supervisors can influence employees' perceptions of the organization's values and beliefs because it is precisely they who demonstrate paradigm values, beliefs and commitment. As organizational leaders, supervisors and managers must acknowledge each employee's work and family choices, ensure that employees know they are considered an important part of the team, and allow them to openly present their concerns and suggestions without fear of reprisal. In the process, managers and supervisors must examine and challenge their own biases regarding the perceived work commitment of those using WF programs. They must help their employees to realize their long-term career plans, provide for developmental assignments, and ensure that the necessary flexibility exists for them to achieve their fullest potential performance.

In an effort to develop skills for accomplishing this change, I asked participants to work on a force field analysis (Kurt Lewin, 1947) and assess what was happening in their own organizations and then make some suggestions for change. In a force field analysis, participants must come up with ideas on what forces facilitate or restrain change. The information generated is then used to craft and discuss solutions for action. The workshop participants saw as important the problem of absenteeism for family reasons and resulting lost productivity. The question was, what would this situation look like if it were improved? Participants discussed their views on driving and restraining forces during the force field analysis. They then were asked as a small group to come up with what they wanted to improve and what they could realistically do as managers to strengthen driving forces and weaken the restraining forces. The group then considered the strategy against the earlier stated objectives and moved on to describe an ideal flexible and supportive working environment. We used a clip from the training video, "Another Call from Home - The Work/Family Conflict" . Once the scenarios in the video had been presented, small groups discussed whether or not they had similar experiences at Public Service, and whether or not they thought a supportive and flexible working environment was important at Public Service. Participants indicated that they did have similar experiences with their employees to those raised in the video, particularly with absenteeism. They agreed that a supportive and flexible environment was important at Public Service and cited the usual reasons for this, such as productivity, quality of work, morale, absenteeism, empowerment, commitment. They stated a keen interest in building strong and mature employee/employer relationships, motivation, moving to valuing human resources as assets rather than liabilities, and becoming an attractive and progressive employer.

I then gave participants the opportunity to work through a case study role play as a skills practice on the topic. The skills practice intended that all participants use and integrate all ideas presented in the workshop where appropriate. We were particularly interested in

shifting management style to create a different workplace culture. The questionnaire findings showed the controlling management style to be a barrier. Groups of 4 consisted of 2 observers and 2 characters: T.C. Benson, the director/manager and Adrian Darnet the employee/librarian. The 2 characters are gender-neutral and can be represented by either a male or female workshop participant. The two observers in each skills practice had one individual looking at the employee's behaviours and how they were affected by the manager's approach, and the second observer looking at the manager's behaviours and how they carried out the exercise. Each individual was given background information and other information that pertained to his/her role only, to ensure that the case study skills practice was effective. Each of the observers received only their own instructions and did not have access to all of the available information until debriefing. All group members were informed that the Director of the Branch in the organization was responsible for five professional librarians and 15 others. One of the librarians, Adrian Darnet, had worked at the branch for six years. On the basis of annual performance appraisals, Adrian had been rated as fully satisfactory. A review of Adrian's personnel records found only one reprimand on file. During Adrian's first year on the job s/he was warned several times about tardiness. During a six-week week period, Adrian had been 10 to 25 minutes late for work over a dozen times. According to this file, the problem was caused by recurrent car troubles. However, Adrian apparently corrected the problem after the reprimand. Adrian had six years service and a fully satisfactory rating but during the first year there were 12 lates, a reprimand and a correction of behaviour.

Each group worked through the scenario and then reported their small group activities to the larger group. Participants mainly struggled with the issues of providing appropriate flexibility and reprimand. A debating point was how closely the attendance of many clerical employees should be managed. I had some difficulty leading this discussion and noted that opposition was coming from the more directive managerial orientations.

I then presented the video's resolution of the WF conflicts illustrated in "Another Call from Home," asking the group to comment on what they thought could be done differently in Public Service to improve working environments and create a more supportive managerial orientations. One participant replied that the video resolution "didn't really add anything, so take it out." Another participant stated that before "anything was going to happen", they needed to "see top level management support." Participants were pessimistic regarding the workshop's success. Some found that the content did not meet their expectations. Others would have preferred to focus on developing a concrete action plan and spend more time promoting existing programs and solving real life organizational issues. They complained that the "resolution of issues is not as cut and dry as the course implies. Employees who have been treated as mindless idiots will need a lot of coaching and support and time to develop into the new employee."

The cynicism raised by this workshop was more pronounced than the previous one. Participants had expected more from this workshop in terms of practical answers to questions regarding controlling management styles, inflexibility and lack of support for WF issues. But again, management's lack of commitment to the change was a barrier; the benefit of the program was therefore minimal. Participants agreed that

> some general ideas for improving communication were useful, but that specifics on how to deal with barriers we can't control" [and]"assessing what can be done and devising an action plan or programs [would have been more useful].

It appeared that many of these individuals were committed to WF change at some level, but had no support for creating such change in their units. They noted that "for success we need to do a lot more work."

Overall, participants were very cynical regarding the existing level of support for change. One participant noted that :

> this course won't help managers until the DM and ADMs and senior management create a supportive environment from the top. We need to reinforce that communication with staff is the key and talk to them and find out from them what they feel constitutes a supportive environment. Most participants in this pilot seemed supportive of the course material. It would have been interesting to see the reaction of those managers hostile to or in the least non-supportive of the material and their staff and who act more autocratically.

But, equally important was the fact that participants were cynical regarding the ability of the workshop or any of the initiatives in our Strategy for Action to produce the level of idea system change required. One participant noted:

> [We] need more work on implementing programs that actually achieve a supportive environment. How do you evaluate successes/failures and action plans? Must deal with resistance from senior managers, lack of support from HR professionals, fear of change and the lack of information about what is possible.

This workshop failed, as had the other programs designed to produce change to underlying interpretive schemes in support of the larger initiative. We did not see a shift to a more family-friendly organization at any level. Repeatedly we saw evidence of control-oriented management who needed to know who was supporting the project and what direct benefit they would gain for participating. Where we did find support for WF, it was undermined by the lack of management discretion available, the need for management controls and the idea that change of this nature would disrupt operations. Left unaffected were the underlying interpretive schemes that contained reference to the need for control, the separation of family from work concerns, and assumed gender roles.

In addition to the programs aimed at changing interpretive schemes, we devised and implemented structural changes to work schedules. Two flexible work schedule pilots

were planned and implemented during the project. In the next section, I provide background for these work schedule pilots.

5.2.5 The Flexible Work Schedule Pilots

A previous government directive recommended that compressed work weeks be eliminated throughout the public service. Ministers and Deputy Ministers were advised to employ flex time only if it did not negatively affect operations or service to the public in any way. Many departments immediately withdrew flexible work schedules. However, the work schedules were not formally rescinded, as they remained in the collective agreement. Public Service policy continued to contain reference to flexible hours of work for employees, subject to operational requirements. The collective agreement provision regarding hours of work stated that the parties agree that an employing department may implement a flexible or modified work week system under conditions as provided in the agreement.

Several years before I began my assignment at Public Service, a directive was issued stating that all banked time must be used according to the new "Hours of Work Guidelines." Managers were expected to work 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., professionals were provided some flexibility, but had to be present between 8:15 and 4:30. Support staff were expected to work the standard 7.25 hours per day. Any changes to standard hours, either on a temporary or permanent basis, were to be cleared with the supervisor. There was to be some limited flexibility in start and end times to accommodate personal needs such as daycare, bus schedules, etc., but in no way was the intent of the policy to allow employees to build up reserves of time to be taken as a "flex day." In many units, the new guidelines were used to justify a return to standard hours of 8:15 to 4:30, with no room for exceptions.

Management withdrew the previous more liberal version of flexible work scheduling because of perceived abuses. However, this suggests that senior management was moving in the opposite direction from the employees, who desire increased flexibility, not less, as indicated by Table 1 above. The ADM's position was that he would only consider re-introducing a version of flextime after a successful pilot test. Successful in his definition meant a schedule that could be effectively managed, produce higher productivity, morale, better or equivalent service and decrease problem absenteeism. The commitment expressed by the ADM, and subsequently Director B was that they would "try implementing flexible schedules again if it could be done in such a way that managers could manage it and not be managed by it!" This sentiment limited the scope of my flextime pilot.

Director B sent memos to the Directors in other divisions regarding the possibility of flexible work schedule pilots in the divisions. Director B advised his unit that Manager 4 and I were conducting meetings with interested directors and managers. At each of these meetings, the degree of support that we would provide in the flextime pilot development, implementation and evaluation was discussed. Two pilots were to take place within the HR division, involving the Training unit of the Corporate Development Branch and the Payroll unit of the Personnel Services Branch (HRP). For a visual representation of the organizational members referred to, see Figure 2 above. Not long after these meetings were underway and the PAY unit group agreed to participate in the pilot, difficulties erupted between the two HR branches over who held responsibility for work schedules. Since work schedules were a "bread and butter" bargaining unit item, the Director A appeared slighted by the Director B's attempt to exclude HRP staff from the initiative. To criticize the CHRD staff involvement in work schedules, the Director A recalled reasons why flexible work schedules as proposed would not work based on past perceptions. Director A stated:

> flextime was a disaster...it structures time again...how degrading a year ago we had time clocks...they [employees] hoard and build their time and get to be away from us for a day each month...we want people to want to be here...trust them to make decisions...our experience with flextime is that those that have it contribute to an unhealthy environment or are the result of it [the environment]. People come to be unsupervised, poor performers and use it [flextime] to become worse...others use it to run away from the organization...it disorganizes...we have to work within the rules...renegotiate individual needs within the organizational context

However, Director B also had much to say about the situation. He saw the Director A's concerns as merely about turf, power and politics:

> we are arguing about definitions...they discount my definition of flextime and in part me also...I am tolerated by my peer and supported by my boss...__ felt as Personnel Director that he knew more...my boss will not address the issues between us...later the issues became a higher priority...our differences in philosophical positions were at war...they tried to introduce attendance management, a very punitive program...we were to do the training for it but, it never really happened...they don't emphasize client service in that area...they want to see a plan first...this erects barriers rather than providing help...there is reinforcement for ___'s behaviour...it's a power issue...there is a cancer there.

Eventually the two HR branches agreed to work together to implement flexible work schedules at Public Service. Manager 4, responsible for planning, sent a memo to Manager 3 of HRP branch responsible for procedure and rule interpretation, requesting her unit's assistance in developing flexible work schedules with interested divisions and permission to begin work with her staff. Her staff of personnel consultants would help us to ensure that the collective agreement was not violated and that specific attendance management concerns would be dealt with appropriately. Th·n a joint action plan was outlined. The CHRD branch with the HRP branch would develop a flexible work schedule in line with divisional requirements and employee preferences. The branches would then together pilot the flexible work schedule for a six-month period with participating divisions and assess the pilots' impact. Finally, the HRP branch would implement the flexible work schedule and provide the necessary ongoing supports. However, the CHRD group harboured

concerns based on the differences in philosophy between the two branches. Directors A and B continued to battle over definitions throughout the project period. I noticed that Director B often returned "red faced" from encounters with his counterpart. Further the "need to control" was continually expressed by members from the HRP group. They could not get beyond the language of command and control leadership. I often heard that "managers need a way to manage flexible work schedules to maintain their control over the situation."

The ADM then wrote to his executive committee colleagues to announce that the flexible work schedule pilots were underway and that they would be continuing over a six month period. He noted that, upon completion of the pilot period, a full assessment would be submitted to the committee with recommendations regarding possible flexible work schedule options in Public Service. The terms of reference for piloting flexible work schedules were to implement and evaluate flexible work schedules in Public Service. The intention was to involve the four divisions with the highest levels of interest in flexible work schedules, as documented by the WC questionnaire (see Table 1). I quickly discovered during the initial meetings that Public Service Division B already had informal flexible arrangements in place that both management and non-management employees were content with. Public Service Division E was considered to be too small a group for reasons of confidentiality to use for the pilot but was encouraged to pursue the option with all help offered. The Director B suggested that the emphasis be placed on the remaining two divisions for the pilot, i.e., HR - Internal Service Division A and Public Service Division D.

Manager 4 of the HRD branch sent a memo to the ADM and the Director of Public Service Division D regarding the proposed process for developing, implementing and evaluating

flexible work schedules and a copy of the planning document for use in planning flexible schedule programs. The proposed process included:

- meetings with ADM/Director's regarding background information, flexible options, recommendations for pilot sites;
- meetings with supervisors/managers to discuss parameters, create commitment, outline planning group duties, flexible scheduling options, arrange for pre-test/baseline information ;
- design appropriate schedule;
- dealing with attendance management issues for supervisors/managers (half day), conduct training in problem-solving;
- implementing flexible work schedules, providing on-going support;
- assessing the impact of the new schedule on attendance, service, morale; and
- developing recommendations.

The Director of Public Service Division D declined the invitation. He noted that his division had plans to re-implement flexible work schedules, but not at this time. In his words, he wanted to "finish cleaning house first," meaning to finish removing the undesirable employees he had planned for layoff or termination as potential abusers. In the end, the pilots were only conducted within HR . In the following sections, I introduce the pilot sites - the Training Unit and Pay Unit of HR. Once I have introduced each of the sites and the flexible schedule specified, I move on to evaluate them. I look at each unit's participant expectations of the flexible work schedule with respect to impact on WF issues, client service and productivity. I then compare the units in terms of the impact that the flexible schedule had on absenteeism. I consider time lost to absenteeism separately as it emerged as the key management concern and subsequently reveals the underlying interpretive schemes around the need for control most sharply.

For the Training group, the planning team began Year 4, month 6 to develop a flexible work schedule pilot specific to that divisional location. The team consisted of the CHRD branch manager, the consultant, the target branch manager, and the employees on the new schedule. The group considered why flextime was an issue, what duties were involved in implementing a program, what options were available, the pros and cons of each, who was eligible to participate, how the work schedule would be implemented in action plan format, coverage, accountability, how the schedules would be managed, and how the final evaluation would take place.

As a result of the planning, the training unit ran a six month pilot using a variable work schedule with no carry over (i.e.: no banked "flex-days"). Each work day was 7.25 hours in length. The core hours on training days would be 8:15 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., on non-training days 9:00 - 11:30 a.m. and 1:30 - 3:30 p.m. The lunch hour minimum was to be 30 minutes and the maximum 90 minutes. The earliest start time allowed was 7:15 a.m. and the latest finish time 5:30 p.m. Principles established as a result of the planning exercises were that a measure of success would be client service, that open communication with colleagues would be used to ensure fairness and the perception of fairness, that non-training day schedule intentions were to be reported to the manager on white board and to use flexibility to cover appointments where possible. The group's flexibility was restricted in part by training schedules. However, employees could negotiate more flexibility on their non-training days.

This plan for "flexibility" offered minimal flexibility to employees. The manager of the unit (Manager 5) noted her "need to know what was going on without becoming a clock-watcher." It seemed that without the safety of regular hours, Manager 5 believed that she must begin to keep track of individuals better and watch them. This was partly explained

by the form of accountability that was written into the management performance appraisal. Manager 5 was responsible for her employee's productivity. If Director B were to ask her where a particular employee was, she felt that she had to be able to give an answer. Manager 5's perception of what was expected of her reflects the controlling management culture of the organization. This was particularly interesting, since HR thought of themselves as the most flexible and supportive division in the department.

We also began a pilot specific to the Pay Unit's needs. Again, we considered why flextime was an issue, what duties were involved in implementing a program, what options were available, the pros and cons of each, who was eligible to participate, how the work schedule would be implemented in action plan format, coverage, accountability, how the schedules would be managed, and how the final evaluation would take place.

As a result of the planning, the Pay unit also ran a six month pilot using a fixed work schedule with no carry over (i.e.: no banked "flex-days"). The schedule was to be negotiated with the manager of the unit to ensure adequate cover-off. (Cover-off refers to the responsibility of unit members to make sure the work is being done on all desks. Each individual works to back up another so that there is no disruption in service). Cover-off was an important issue to group members because they wanted to ensure that no one in the unit "felt dumped on." It was a good team, and they wanted to impress upon all concerned that they had to fill in for others as required. They also considered getting an extra key for the door and the computer changes needed for the cover-off. The schedule reflected the employees' preferences for starting early. The basic working day in this group was also a standard 7.25 hours. The earliest people were permitted to start the day was 7:30 a.m. and the latest they could stay was 4:30 p.m. The core hours were 8:15 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. to ensure customer service was handled. The lunch hour minimum was to be 30 minutes and the maximum 90 minutes.

I constructed a list of training unit customers to use to assess customer service during the pilot period. I wanted to find out from the customers if the work schedule had any impact on services provided. Just prior to implementation, I talked to members of the Training unit. I wanted to learn of their expectations of the pilot and to have a baseline for comparison once the pilot was finished. I talked to the unit members again at the end of the pilot. My interview protocols are found in appendices I and II. I collected absentee statistics for the period just prior to the pilot, during the pilot, and the same season during the previous year.

In terms of work schedule expectations all employees in the training unit thought that the flexible work schedule would have a positive or very positive impact on their work lives and home lives. They talked about enjoying the idea of flexibility and being able to work according to their own rhythms. The manager, however, remained skeptical about the program's success. She talked about culture clash for those coming into the division from the more controlling divisions versus those from the more supportive divisions:

> It will be positive especially in the early stages. I have a concern regarding communication, the perceptions will dampen a bit and in terms of personal relations that it may become more of an issue. They have strong values associated with work time. There is good potential for values to clash.

There was broad consensus that the new schedules would have an effect on work and family life. It seemed that people expected the flexible schedule to give them "more individual control over their work lives." Although the schedule offered only minimal flexibility, these employees seemed happy with any degree of personal control away from managerial control over their hours of work. The degree of control, although minor, was symbolic to them. In terms of home lives, people noted that it was nice to get off to "do stuff with the family, grandchildren or whatever." One individual noted that the new

schedule did not have as much impact as she had hoped but that she could "see more use for it coming up with a lot of changes."

Participants appeared to make use of the minor change as indicative of greater symbolic changes. This "Hawthorne effect" (Whitehead, 1936; Roethlisberger and Dixon, 1939) showed how the minor change was interpreted as being something much greater. For example, one employee noted that the added flexibility "gives me credit for the fact that I come in early in the morning. I'll stay even beyond my hours till I'm satisfied." Employees talked about having choice, extra time to prepare things in the morning, or extended lunch hours to meet personal demands. Although they all appeared to find something positive to say about the change, most participants also voiced a preference for a compressed work week. They liked the idea of taking a whole day or afternoon off. However, they understood that this option was not available yet. But, they embraced even the minimal change, with the hope that if they handled the minimal change well, management might extend the program to include a fuller version of flexibility.

During the development of this pilot program it was difficult for me to see how employees were being treated. Management did not appear genuinely interested in providing flexibility, or in moving from their control orientation to one that resembled commitment of all parties. Instead, it seemed they wanted to implement something to appease employees. The ADM and Director B told me during the planning phases that we had to implement something that managers "feel they can manage and not be managed by," and to not create something that would "disrupt operations" or that management would have to spend a lot of time with. I was not satisfied with this program, but when I voiced my concerns, I was flatly told that "it was as good as it was going to get." It did not appear to matter to my fellow PAR colleagues that employees were being treated badly, or, I thought, as dependent children who could not be trusted.

I asked about how the work schedules impacted productivity during my first set of meetings. Respondents noted that they didn't think the schedule would have any impact on the speed at which they worked. Most were neutral on the point. When I asked about amount of work, the majority noted that they thought they would produce more work due to "some quieter time" or being a "morning person." In terms of work quality, 60% of the group noted no effect due to the work arrangement, but 40% said they expected an improvement in the quality of work. When asked about the quality of service to clients, 60% this time said they expected an improvement whereas 40% expected their level of quality to remain the same.

A question about productivity in the post-test produced similar results. Participants thought there was little effect, if any, on the speed of completing work. The majority of respondents found that they were able to do more work, often due to quiet hours early in the morning. Quality of work also improved. They noted that they had "more room to maneuver" and were able to "give my best during my good days and not wasting time on my bad days." In terms of the quality of service provided, 86% of respondents noted that they were able to provide better quality of service to clients as a result of the program. They were "able to provide earlier training for those on flex schedules. Now it is legitimate to accommodate them."

Ten internal clients were contacted to remark about the training services they had received. The clients confirmed that the level of service provided by the Training unit was good. Clients were asked to rate the Training Unit on a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being very unsatisfactory and 10 being very satisfactory) regarding the quality of services received both prior to and during the flextime pilot. The average rating of services prior to the pilot was 7.8 where the average during the pilot was 8.2. There did not appear to be any

substantial change on how the Training Unit services were rated. Comments from clients about the level of service received indicated that they thought "service was good" and in some cases more flexible as "the trainer accommodated us now as she was on flextime too. They bent their schedules for us."

In addition to question about their experiences at work, Training Unit flextime participants were also asked if they thought their previous work schedule had ever kept them from doing some necessary things in their lives. The majority answered that this was the case. Their comments provide further insights:

> My out of town family visits were hampered when hooked into the Monday to Friday schedules. Even vacation commitments. I may need to take a Friday off and then save up and do it for a work reason.
>
> School, daycare events, more structured doctors appointments, family illness, things couldn't get home, pick them up and then come back or make up time the next day.

Virtually all respondents reported that their commuting time improved as a result of the flexible work schedule. They were able to get home a lot faster and beat most of the rush hour traffic. They also indicated that with flexible hours they were never late which for some had previously been a problem. When I asked if the new schedule affected their job satisfaction, 60% replied that it had improved. Most thought that the schedule reduced absenteeism and lateness in their immediate unit. However, lateness was not seen as "really an issue." However, other individuals noted that "morale could be improved upon to say the least. Sometimes even common courtesies are missing." When asked about the new schedule's effect on morale, 87% said that it was positive. Employees noted that "people were happy to have the schedule. It gave us a little boost." Another employee, from a more traditional division, noted that she thought group morale had been positively affected, but that different people perceived things differently due to where they had come

from. For her, the flexibility was good because she came from Public Services Division D that "didn't allow employees to be one tick short. I had to get my time in."

Overall, the Training unit thought the new flexible schedule was positive. Words like wonderful, great, positive, gives us credit, responsible, excellent were used. However, some were concerned how management was going to manage any abuses which occurred. When I asked them again for their overall impressions of the work schedule after using it for 6 months, most reported that it was working well, and that they would be very disappointed to lose the option. In fact, employees said that if the organization did decide to withdraw the option "they will get open and silent resistance." Respondents corroborated by observation that Manager 5 still seemed apprehensive about the schedule. Manager 5's concern was with her own accountability, and the inability to account fully for her group's activities. Manager 5 said that overall, [the flexible schedule] was good and would be hard to take away from this group and that the

> planning process really helped. They have a good sense of my expectations and need for self monitoring or acting like professionals. I asked them to do a 2 week tracking of their time to see how it was going. On paper it looked good. It also reminded them of my need not to keep track and what perceptions were.

But her reluctance seemed to me more interesting. She perceived a need to keep track of employees and described this as part of her job. Her own "accountability" was exercising control over employees, a management style reinforced by the organization in which she worked.

I also constructed a list of Pay unit customers to use to assess customer service during the pilot period. I wanted to find out from the customers if the work schedule had any impact on services provided. Just prior to implementation, I talked to members of the Pay unit. I wanted to learn of their expectations of the pilot and to have a baseline for comparison once the pilot was finished. I talked to the Pay unit members again at the end of the pilot. My

interview protocols are found in appendices I and II. I collected absentee statistics for the period just prior to the pilot, during the pilot, and for the same season during the previous year.

I asked employees about they thought their expectations of the work schedule. All but one employee in the PAY unit thought that the flexible work schedule would have a positive or very positive impact on their work lives and home lives. When asked to explain, they noted that it [the flexible schedule] "helps with home life", "allows more time for personal things," makes it "easier to maintain private and family life" and perform according to each individual's natural work rhythms. Early morning people could "come in early and perform when they are feeling a lot fresher and contribute more." Those who came a half-hour later felt better, as they could spend more time with their "school aged children having breakfast together," or "spend more time with my kids, less daycare expense, meet my child at the end of the school day and do more activities together at home."

When asked to comment during the post-test on whether or not the new schedules had had an effect on work and family life, fewer than half of the employees answered yes. It seemed that the differences they expected were not as great and some problems in meeting customer demand were experienced due to the limited number of staff available later on in the day. One employee noted that the "schedule was positive to neutral in its effect on my home life. It didn't change a great deal." This was a telling comment, given how little the pilot working hours differed from the previous regular hours. Employees appeared to expect a great deal from minimal changes. When I returned to the site and asked them how the new working hours added flexibility, the participants were less positive, noting that it did not add that much extra flexibility. Most agreed with the previous group, preferring to accumulate time for a day off each month. The example provided was "compressed work week," or a "day off now and then to do what is required [to integrate one's WF life]." As

with the previous group, it appeared to be more useful to work extra time for earning a day off once a month to deal with extra demands than trying to use the minimal flexibility each day for the same purpose. It just was not flexible enough to accommodate employees' needs. According to one employee, "Where I could have a day off a month. I could list everything I want to do and get it done. Like in the summer, to get away and beat the traffic."

When asked about productivity, many respondents (60%) noted that they did not think the schedule would affect their work pace. When asked about the amount of work they could do, again the majority (60%) noted that they did not expect to do additional work. In both cases, 40% of employees thought their work speed and workload might increase as a result of flex-time. In terms of work quality, 43% of respondents expected it to improve as a result of the flexible schedules. Another 43% were neutral on the topic and the remaining 14% noted that this was not applicable. In terms of the quality of service, 43% of respondents expected an improvement, 29% of respondents were neutral, 14% expected a decline in service and the final 14% noted that this was not applicable. One person noted that difficulty in answering all phones during busy times may produce a decline in service. She said "it's a little much ...to manage the whole area [by yourself]."

Questions about productivity in follow-up interviews produced similar results. The majority of respondents remained neutral on whether flextime had changed their work speed. Several remarked that during "quiet times more gets done." In terms of the quantity and quality of work, the respondents did not think the work schedule had had any impact. Similarly, most (60%) participants thought that the quality of their service would be ranked the same or positively (40%). Pay unit clerks reported that clients remarked that service was "good because they appreciated they didn't have to wait till 8:15."

Ten clients of the Pay Unit were contacted regarding their perceptions of service provided during the pilot period. Clients were asked to rate the Pay unit services on a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being very unsatisfactory and 10 being very satisfactory, The average rating of services both prior to and during the pilot was 8.7 and 8.8 respectively. No substantial change in service was experienced as a result of the flextime pilot. The following client's comment is indicative of the comments made:

> The service didn't change at all. Sometimes when I call in if ___ is not there someone else tries to answer my question and if it is specifically related to an employee then they leave a message for ___ and she calls back.

In addition to questions about their experiences at work, the Pay Unit flextime participants were also asked if they thought their previous work schedule had ever kept them from doing necessary things in their lives. Their comments included how flexible hours would help them do "things regarding kids school, field trips, helping out with larger family visits."

Like the Training unit, the majority (60%) of Pay unit employees reported positive effects on their commuting time as a result of the flexible work schedule. One individual said that it "makes a big difference; by leaving 15 minutes early I can get home earlier especially in winter. I sail right through, avoid rush hour traffic."

When questioned about how the new schedule affected job satisfaction, 50% replied that it had a positive impact. Most employees commented that "those on the new schedule are very comfortable with it. It allows them time at the end of the day to do personal things. It gives them satisfaction to come to work." But most felt, too, that the program was limited and did little to solve the issues. Finally, one individual reported that the program did nothing for her and her dissatisfaction around the flexibility issue. She told me of her desire to leave the organization due to the level of inflexibility she experienced.

When asked if they thought that the schedule had affected absenteeism and lateness in their immediate unit, virtually all respondents noted that lateness was not an issue and had not been affected. Regarding absenteeism, 57% said that it had not been affected. Again there was a split view on the issue. Individuals noted that:

> It affects those in the group. I'd rather start early and leave early. But, its sometimes an issue on Friday at 4:30 and Monday at 3:30. Sometimes only one person is left.
>
> I think it did get better. There are always the same few away. I'd love to work up to a day off ... that would be nice. I miss that.

The flexible schedule did not appear to affect the productivity of this group. When I asked participants to describe the morale in their work unit, they described morale as good generally to very good with "room for growth." When I asked them to comment on whether or not the new schedule had affected morale, 57% said that it did not have an impact. Morale for the flexible work schedule participants was thought to be higher than for the non-participants, who felt that they were "picking up the extra work load." Interestingly, two participants were quick to advise me that the one non-participant who was complaining also "had the same option [to participate] in the beginning." I had the feeling that this comment was intended to delegitimize the complaints of the non-participant who felt that they were overworking to facilitate their colleagues' flexibility.

There seemed to be a real lack of tolerance in the Pay unit. As a group they had created a new structured program that offered minimal flexibility to replace the more rigid traditional version. But in the translation, the new version became equally as rigid. The fact that there were inequitable situations arising in terms of workload was considered "too bad." Nothing was being planned to correct the imbalance, ensuring that a supportive and flexible environment would be fostered for all group members. One non-participant offered a solution:

> To a certain extent we sat down and talked about it [flextime] It would be nice to alter it and not be stuck with anything. Only 3 of us stay till 4:30. Only time there is a problem is when one of us is away. There could be an option to take turns like 6 months this group and 6 months that one. We don't want to bring attention to our needs. The others won't be happy. So, I don't want to bring attention to us. I don't want them to say I should not go on it because I don't have children. That's not the issue. No pressure in the beginning, chose not to participate. But, others are away and my flexibility is to cover for their appointments. There are more people not here in the afternoon All have to cover off for one another.

Her proposed solution was largely ignored. The group's manager,believing that something had to be done, was leaning towards returning to the previous schedule instead of adjusting the new one. It appeared to me that further adjustment was going to be too difficult for the manager. She appeared to be getting pressure from her Director to withdraw from the program and needed to find a reason for doing so. Coincident with this issue was an emerging turf war over whose role it was to handle and implement flexible work schedules in HR and the subsequent introduction of Attendance Management. I will come back to this issue in a later section of this chapter.

Returning to the Pay unit group, when I asked them to comment on whether they thought their own individual morale had improved, most of the respondents (72%) said the new schedule had had a positive impact. The remainder noted that it was either not applicable (14%), or negatively affected their personal morale (14%). The manager noted that she was:

> [We are] ..starting to see the unfairness due to the set-up of our program. I'm not complaining, but one day they will want to revise before trouble occurs. I would like to see them alternate every 3 months. There would be more pros for everyone. Two cover off each other and when that doesn't happen it really strains the rest of the group. So they would feel better if they did not have to cover off 2-3 desks instead of only one.

Overall, the Pay unit had positive expectations prior to the implementation of flexible scheduling. Words to describe the project were "great", "easiest way", "excellent," "working better for me." When asked for overall impressions of the work schedule after using it for 6 months, the sentiment generally was that it was great, working more or less well, and that all would be very disappointed to lose the option. One employee felt that as a result of the program the supervisor has become more flexible in her approach also. She explained:

> I always come in early but I'm not back in time after lunch. I was asked into the office and told to set an example for others. I was really hurt. Now with the flexible schedule she has really changed and is a lot more flexible. There was a lot of pressure with our supervisor and now that she is more flexible it is easier to deal with.

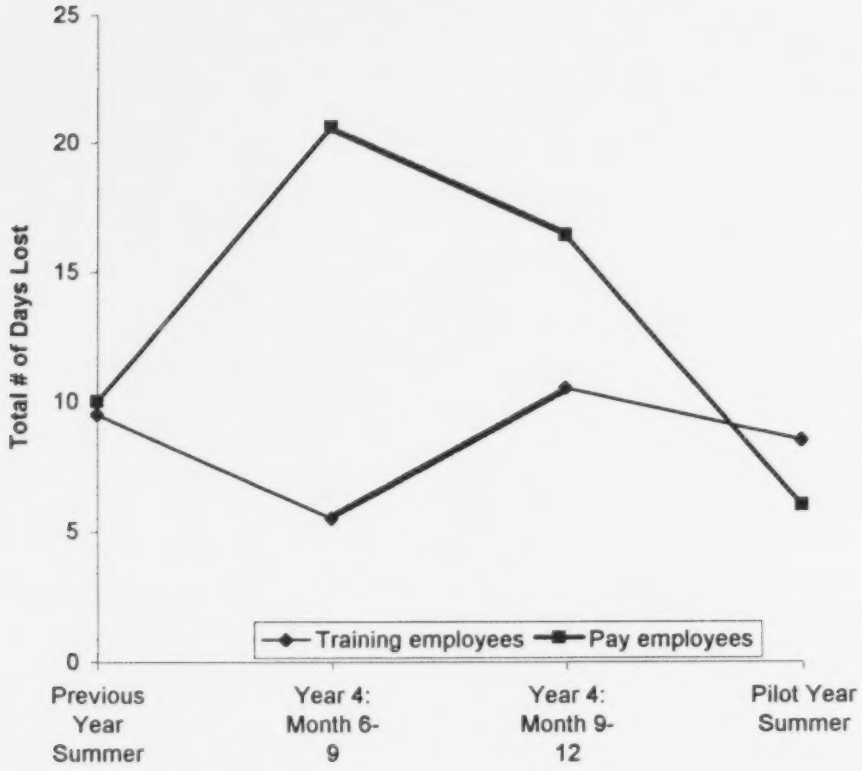
But some of the other data suggest more modest effects. I found myself thinking that they were so happy with this minimal amount of flexibility that they wanted to keep it, using me to achieve this end. If they told me that they enjoyed the program, that it was working well, then I would likely write that into my report for their managers. The employees' logic seemed to be that once the managers saw how much they liked the program and how well it was working, they would not only leave it intact but improve it by adding additional flexibility, possibly an earned day off. I think, however, that this was a naive assessment on their part. Director A did not interpret the comments to be anything more than what might be expected from a group of grateful employees. He was more concerned with improvements in productivity and absenteeism than what the employees actually thought or felt. As noted above, absenteeism was considered a chief concern at Public Service.

Absentee statistics were analyzed for both groups during the pilot period, as well as for the year prior to and month prior to the pilot period. These statistics consist of lost time due to casual sickness and general sickness. Casual sickness was considered absence up to 5 day in succession that an individual may take throughout the year due to illness. General sickness referred to a longer term absense over 1 week in duration. Statistical information

on lateness was not coded as a separate category but added into the casual sick category. This information allowed me to make two comparisons. First, I compared the total time lost during the pilot with the total lost time of the previous year. This allowed me to state whether seasonal fluctuation was a stronger predictor of absentee behaviour than the flextime program. Second, I compared the absentee behaviours just prior to the implementation of the program with behaviours during the program.

For the Training unit, figure 3 below shows 9.5 days overall were lost in the unit during the summer prior to the pilot period. During the same period the following year and during the pilot program, we can see that the unit lost only 8.5 days, a slight improvement. When we consider the time directly preceding the pilot, we note that the unit lost 5.5 days between months 6-9 of year 4 and 10.5 days between months 9-12 of year 4 On average, 8.5 days were lost each year during the same time period. There doesn't appear to be much variation in these statistics, although they do show a slight decline during the period of the pilot from months previous. Further, it is unclear whether or not the results can be solely attributed to the program. I have checked for seasonal fluctuations prior to and during the program for any effects, but cannot rule out all potential intervening variables as this was not a controlled experiment. Change in absence could be simply about who did or did not get sick. Change could also be indicative of a Hawthorne effect, who was or was not afraid to stay away due to sickness, for fear of negative perceptions.

Figure 3
Lost Time due to Illness for Training and Pay Units



For the Pay unit, Figure 3 shows that the unit lost 10.0 days in the same season of the year prior to the pilot. During the same period the following year and during the pilot program, we can see that the unit lost only 6.0 days, a definite improvement from the previous year. When we consider the time directly preceding the pilot, we note that 20.6 days were lost between months 6-9 in Year 4 and 16.5 days between months 9-12 in year 4. These data reveal that one individual was on long-term illness for 20 days and as a result the unit numbers climbed significantly. Over a one-year period, 13.3 days were lost. This indicates a steep decline during the pilot period in lost time. However, when I examined the statistics more closely, I found that the period of steep decline coincides with an employee returning from long term illness. Thus, the change without this employee is much more modest than at first appeared to be the case.

There is not much more to be said regarding absenteeism, given the short duration of the pilot period. We did not notice a substantial impact on absent time reported as a result of the project. Yet Management remained concerned with the level of time lost in these units. They stated often that Public Service's level of absenteeism was very high in comparison to other government departments. We did not, however, compare Public Service's absentee statistics with other government departments, as there was a cost associated with requesting these data. HR management did not see the need to request this information. They believed absenteeism to be their biggest problem. And, as a result of the flexible work schedule pilot, they did not see any change or improvement to the level of absenteeism in the department.

Over the period of the pilot, Director A became even more concerned about the "attendance problem." But, as noted earlier, according to Director B, Director A was more concerned with a turf issue, i.e., whose role it was to design and implement flexible work schedules and hence manage attendance. In response to the lack of change produced by the project, Director

A decided to take action. He instructed his Employee Relations Manager 1 to revive a contentious attendance management program. This action appeared to be a re-assertion of Director A's leadership in the area of attendance. The action also worked to undermine the work that Director B's branch was involved in. Director B was not impressed. He referred to the proposed attendance management program as a "punitive" program:

> It [attendance management program] was intended to be a manager's tool...provided in the context and changed...the supportive environment and front line leadership was one of them [the tools] too...how does attendance management fit as a tool? We circulated the materials...people took offense to it...they were talking about the issues of my personal value system...does it clash? The comments from the union as well...as it [the attendance management program] was trying to get employees to come to work sick! [He was visibly irritated at this point] The question is how many actually abused and maybe those who developed it were the incorrect ones...the old management style and attendance, performance etc.....their days are numbered...recruitment, classification...are all becoming redundant.

The attendance management program if permitted to continue, would have effectively killed flextime or any movement toward more supportive and flexible working environments. It was a program that allowed managers a tighter rein in keeping track of and controlling employees. Interestingly, some appeared to breathe a sigh of relief when the discussion of attendance management began. It was a signal that the "old ways" were still firmly entrenched. The supporters of the change program however, had the opposite reaction. I will comment further in the next section of this chapter.

5.2.6 The Attendance Management Program as an Alternative

At our weekly branch meeting, Director B announced that an existing Attendance Management program was being adapted for use in Public Service by Employee Relations unit. Director B assigned Manager 5 of the training group and her staff to evaluate the new program and work closely with ER to ensure that it was complementary to our WF initiatives. Although Director B did not agree with the Attendance Management program, it was his view that we had to work with them on it and "make sure" that the program was carefully shaped into a "manager's tool." [I thought at the time that he was suggesting that

the group slow down the project as they worked to "make sure" it was reflective also of our change program. In my later conversations with Manager 5, I found that she too had made this interpretation and followed through using a form of administrative resistance. She asked for countless revisions and meetings and took time in between to edit]. Following the announcement, there was some discussion that the origin of the program under consideration was excessively punitive in orientation. Shortly thereafter, a draft of the adapted attendance management program was given to the training branch for comment.

The new program was presented in a manual form that explained Public Service's attendance policy, provided an understanding of the probable causes of absenteeism, discussed how to use absentee measurement data , the basics of managing attendance, the roles and responsibilities of all management and non-management employees involved, provisions for authorizing (or not) absence and gave definitive parameters of appropriate absence. There was no mention of WF issues within the parameters of appropriate absence from the workplace.

Departmental managers also expressed confusion over the attendance management program discussions. One manager from Public Services Division B took it upon himself to collect reactions from some of his colleagues. He then wrote to the training branch with a list of their concerns and questions about the proposed attendance management program. Comments given in his report included:

> How much can a manager do this without harassing the employee?
>
> How can we confront sensitive absenteeism situations such as emotional illness?"
>
> What is human resources role in dealing with attendance management problems - control vs. consultation, who has the authority to make the final decision on how to act/deal with an employees, who does HRSD represent?

Other comments from within the branch noted that the attendance management program was "punitive in tone," used legal concepts of "culpable (blameworthy) and non-culpable absences," and appeared to run counter to the ideal of flexibility, supportiveness and commitment in terms of the working environment that we had been advocating:

> Although in places, for example section 4.4, participation is encouraged, it is not done until a problem occurs. This sets up a situation where negative behaviours are responded to and employees quickly learn the pattern. If we were to focus on prevention and reward positive behaviours, I think we would be more successful in corresponding to the supportive environment idea capable of trust between management and non-management employees.

The attendance management program was intended as a last resort to deal with problem absenteeism, or "abusers." But it seemed to me that this program was not really being supported by ER as a last resort, but rather as a "more sensible" alternative to the relatively laissez faire program discussed earlier. This alternative program more clearly reflected and reinforced management's existing "controlling" mentality. The timing of the introduction of the alternative program was really interesting. Just when the flexible work schedule pilot, as minimal as it was, had started to receive positive attention from line managers, the rival HRP unit led by Director A, perhaps fearful of losing control, began discussing attendance management with departmental managers. HRP consultants were receiving alleged requests from the "floor" for pilot programs of flexible work schedules. Managers in the affected areas were not comfortable with implementation of flexible work schedules and cited reasons such as "increased surveillance" and "additional time keeping" as reasons for not wanting extra burden. Director A discussed the issue with the Director B and asked him and his PAR team to withdraw from implementing and inviting additional pilots of flexible work schedules. Attendance issues were clearly the domain of Director A's branch. The Director B disagreed and refused to withdraw, referring to the ADM's assignment of CHRD to the project; hence the "turf war" ensured. The turf war was a clear statement of the "controlling" management style. It also was fueled by the ADM, who was

often vague in his assignment of responsibility causing the two Directors to compete for his favour. Close on the heels of the "turf war" came the attendance management initiative through Director A's branch. Once again the traditional controlling management style was supported.

Through attendance management, Director A regained control by reassuring uncomfortable managers with the contradictory, more traditional control-oriented program. I suspected at the time that he knew exactly what the effect would be among those like him who were not comfortable with the change. Director B began to feel pressure from the ADM and departmental managers over the lack of coordination in the project. This infuriated Director B. Almost immediately, Director B received calls from departmental managers asking whether "the left hand knew what the right hand was doing?" Managers also noted that they thought "the flexible work schedule pilots, management training programs and attendance management programs were sending contradictory messages." The emphasis in the attendance management program was not on providing flexibility and creating supportive environments as advertised, but on focusing all attention on attendance problems and reinforcing the more traditional control orientation for which this department was known. Other managers were very comfortable with the attendance management program and commented that "finally HR was making some sense." This unfortunate event highlighted the non-coordinated nature of the efforts of the HRP and HRD Branches of the division.

The Attendance Management program was clearly inconsistent with the "trust" needed in a successful flex-time program. However, the ADM insisted that the CHRD unit incorporate the attendance management program as a tool to deal with extreme cases of abuse. Manager 5 stated that if the attendance management was to be incorporated into the larger project, the following revisions were needed:

- that it be incorporated into existing programs and the new program on how to create supportive and flexible working environments as an alternative management tool used in extreme situations and not as an end in itself;
- that it be revised and presented in a less punitive tone; and
- that overall objectives be carefully examined, to achieve a closer alignment between action and objectives.

The introduction of the attendance management program exacerbated the continuing "turf war" between the PS and CHRD branches of the HR division. Where the flexible work schedule pilot re-ignited the struggle over whose job it was to manage time schedules and attendance, the attendance management program added "more fuel to the fire." Manager 5 who asked to keep track of the program and work closely with ER to ensure compatibility, was so discouraged by the lack of ER's open-mindedness that she decided to deliberately stall her collaborative efforts [a passive control strategy to hold up the program in administrative change that clearly fits with HR's war-like culture] on the detailed review of the program until the ER manager agreed to meet and discuss the program with her. This did not occur during the research period.

5.3 SUMMARY OF PROGRAM EVALUATION DATA

When departmental managers and employees were asked initially how well they thought these new WF programs would work in creating change to produce a FF organization, they were skeptical. This skepticism was clearly demonstrated during my interview and focus group discussions with them. Many participants commented on the need for top level management to "really" commit to the direction before real and meaningful change could occur. Participants charged that the project was mere "lip service" rather than the real change to underlying attitudes that was needed. The program evaluations described above

confirmed these earlier sentiments. Changes toward a family-friendly style of organization did not occur. Nor did any meaningful change to underlying interpretive schemes occur at Public Service. The struggle instead reinforced the old interpretive schemes at Public Service.

The resistance among managers and between the Directors encountered at Public Service and the general failure of our efforts led me to compare how well this organization was doing with the WF change efforts of others claiming to be family friendly (FF). It also led me to think further about the nature of the underlying interpretive schemes at work at Public Service and the barriers preventing change to it or the support enabling change to it encountered during the WF initiative. I wanted to explore the forms of resistance found, the role the contradictory program played in creating further difficulties, and the places where we found the small pockets of growing support for the change. I also realized the importance of considering alternative explanations for the lack of success in this case. Coincident with the project period was an election and leadership change, subsequent internal organizational changes, economic environmental unrest, a hiring and salary freeze, a salary roll-back, and changes in the direction of health care. All of these external factors provide possible alternative explanations for why the WF change project was not successful. Some organizational members noted that WF change was a "good times or nice-to-have" project and had to be shelved now given political and economic unrest. This underscores the lack of importance attributed to WF issues. It marks the project as an unimportant set of issues considered only when more important issues are not pressing. The lack of centrality of WF reveals the nature of the underlying interpretive schemes and reflects the undisputed separation of WF.

The flexible work schedule was a small but tangible demonstration of commitment to the WF agenda. However, it was found to be restrictive and fraught with problems. Flexible

work schedules were piloted only in one division and even then, with extreme difficulty. The remaining divisions sat back and looked on. The work schedule program provided limited flexibility within constraints while accommodating operational requirements. The attendance management program was then presented in an entirely contradictory manner. This caused a major problem for the HRD branch. The contradictory program implemented by the rival section signaled disruption and confusion to the remaining divisions. Again, managers sat back and watched with interest.

The program failed to affect underlying interpretive schemes, although each component received positive participant evaluations to varying extents. Those who were supportive of the ideas were positive both prior to and after the initiatives. In fact, workshop participants described themselves characteristically as "the already converted." Conference participants had been sent by management as a reward. There appeared no obvious incentive for management to attend any of the events. Perhaps if commitment to the change had been demonstrated and attendance rewarded in management's performance evaluations, their level of attendance would have been different. But there was no accountability attached to expectations of improved performance to drive forward the changes needed. The programs basically were presented as optional, inviting interested employees to attend.

The flexible work schedule pilots were implemented to improve flexibility with minimal if any disruption to the status quo. The intention was to implement pilots in divisions where employees showed the greatest degree of interest. However, only the host division implemented any pilots. The remaining divisions remained noncommittal. Even with the HR pilots, we could not claim success. With the minimal changes allowed and flexibility offered, little if any positive change occurred. The flexible programs were overly structured and controlling. Employees were not given much flexibility to work with. And

managers were clearly uncomfortable with the required shift in thinking that lessened their controls, despite the minimal degree of flexibility allowed by the schedule changes.

5.4 EXPLAINING PROGRAM FAILURE

All of the WF change programs implemented by the PAR team failed. There was no "real" support for the initiatives from management or the employee's union. The union declined to participate in Public Service's and other government projects at this particular time. Contract negotiations were taking place between the government and the union at the time of the project. The union was concerned about the perception of participating with management. One should however recall that the union did participate prior to this in the development of a cross-government survey about WF issues and an information symposia. I do not discuss union involvement in these issues in this dissertation as my focus centers around what employers can do to produce change in this area. However, I would like to acknowledge here that I believe union efforts are clearly important to WF change agendas and could have likely encouraged real change even in this case. In fact, WF issues may be a major bargaining item for the 1990's.

Neither management nor non-management employees believed that anything would occur as a result of the program. There were no conflicts or crises evident strong enough to cause anyone to notice a need for change. Many managers in this case appeared largely content with their control-oriented culture. The fact that they could recognize no legitimate organizational reason for change to their control orientation is interesting given the obvious interest among employees demonstrated by the WC questionnaire, the interviews, and focus groups.

My challenge was to understand why WF change was so fiercely resisted in this organization. Reflecting on the data, I searched for organizational theories of change that would allow me to explain what was going on in this project. I began to think of the research in terms of Public Service shifting from a non-family-friendly form to the new and desired family-friendly form. In doing this, I focused on the difference between what people said versus how they behaved and how that translated into forms of resistance to change in this project.

In addition, I wanted to consider how WF change was perceived by employees within the organization. I asked myself, was WF change perceived as legitimate? Could we use organizational theories of change not used typically for issues outside of concerns for organizational performance or economics to learn about WF change? It appeared to me that theories of change promoting only organizational economic success and effectiveness would be limited to surface changes rather than changes to underlying interpretive schemes. To examine the magnitude of change implicit in this project, it would be therefore necessary to redefine what constitutes legitimate organizational change. What constitutes legitimate change could affect an organization's economic performance or effectiveness. But, in my view it is also legitimate to talk about WF as a legitimate form of organizational change. WF change can be characterized as a form of social justice, working in combination with organizational effectiveness. For this reason, I have selected only theoretical approaches that can embed WF as a form of social value change within a broader organizational effectiveness framework to theorize about meaningful change to underlying interpretive schemes in this case. The chosen perspectives were presented above in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 6. FAILURE TO PRODUCE A FAMILY-FRIENDLY PUBLIC SERVICE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the following three chapters, I use the Public Service case study data to support the argument developed thus far, namely, that enduring ideological assumptions regarding the separation of employee's lives into work (public) and family (private) spheres are perpetuated preventing meaningful change in organizations. In addition, I argue that when we do see change, it is at the level of first-order change. My research questions are used to direct the analyses that follow.

I begin in Chapter 6 by looking generally at the level of ideas and structure which blocks and/or supports WF change during the actual change process. In examining the process of change, I define what it means to be a FF organization and clarify the new archetypal form. I then describe Public Service's version of this new archetype and build in a comparison of other organizations with which to compare Public Service. My comparison organizations are from the private sector, non-profit sector and another public sector. The other organizations that I use in comparison have taken some initiatives that appear to be changing values and ideas crucial for movement toward a FF archetype. I do not, however, claim that second-order change has occurred in these organizations, as I have not studied them in depth. The other organizational examples appear to be moving closer to the FF archetype due to their attempts to alter values and underlying interpretive schemes. This is particularly true for the financial organizations cited. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate Public Service's failure in reaching its family-friendly change destination.

In Chapter 7, I move on to look closer at what supported and blocked the change by considering the institutionalized barriers encountered. I am specifically interested in levels

of change attempted in the case organization in this chapter. I look for first- and second-order change, the barriers encountered, and the mild dialectic between new and old approaches to managing attendance that took place when implementing the flexible work schedule project. To conclude this chapter, I consider the organizational change theory of deinstitutionalization and the likelihood of using this approach to produce second-order change at Public Service. Deinstitutionalization allows us to differentiate the barriers encountered into political, functional or organizational, and social characteristics. This part of the analysis allows me to conclude that the separation of WF embedded in underlying interpretive schemes has not changed to any great extent.

In Chapter 8, I focus specifically on the institutionalized ideas that produced such strong barriers to change efforts. I use the last research question: What do the institutionalized barriers reveal about embedded assumptions at Public Service regarding, i) the continued separation of work and family and ii) the image of the ideal worker. These questions lead me to explore important characteristics of a powerful interpretive scheme that I refer to as patriarchy. I rely on my earlier definition of patriarchy in this chapter and discuss how WF continues to be separated into public and private spheres, and how the "ideal" male worker image persists largely unchallenged in Public Service.

6.2 DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE'S FAMILY-FRIENDLY ARCHETYPE

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, I deal with the barriers and supports to change encountered along the path that Public Service took as it attempted to move from A (non-family-friendly) to B (family-friendly). This chapter's goal is threefold. First, I consider the process of change toward the ideal FF archetype. Second, I establish the FF archetype

desired by Public Service. Third, I look at other organizations and compare them to Public Service's FF archetype. As I look at the path of change, I ask how to account for organizational change to both ideas and structure to produce a coherent family-friendly organization. Hinings and Greenwood's (1988:8) design archetype consists of ideas, beliefs and values connected to organizational structures and systems. Cockburn (1991) also refers to the interaction between structures, systems, and rules with discourse and employee activities. The composition of structures, systems, and underlying interpretive schemes in each case is thought to "hang together" in a coherent archetype. Hinings and Greenwood's perspective aims for a holistic view of organizational change with the ability to recognize both emergent and prescribed processes.

Organizations are rarely ever in a stable archetype. More often organizations are found on "tracks" between archetypes. (A track is a heuristic device that maps or captures the change process or the movement of an organization over time within or between alternative archetypal forms). Why an organization follows a particular track is a question about relative stability and change. It is assumed that all organizations are on tracks which, over time, allow for radical transformation, abortive shifts, or inertia through aligning, separating, and realigning processes. Change occurs in three ways: the complex interaction of organizational context and inter-organizational processes; the unfolding of circumstances and action; and the continuous reforming of situations and issues due to unanticipated consequences and moving contexts. Finally, it is important to note that organizations cannot be disembodied from their institutional settings or isolated from their particular historical moments. Rather, we must consider the particular organization undergoing change within its own complex context.

Transitions between archetypes are not easily achieved. When an organization is actively engaged in change on the track from an old, undesired archetype to a new archetype, it is

important to define the new archetype clearly. When we consider WF issues and a family friendly (FF) archetype, the change transition is particularly significant. It is unclear what FF actually means in a generic sense, as the meaning shifts according to different employee needs, and is organization-specific and responsive to organizational complexity. We must therefore establish a clear idea of what family- friendliness actually means for Public Service employees prior to moving on to other aspects of the change agenda.

Making a workplace FF means more than implementing a set of programs designed to address one or two issues. More generally; FF workplaces recognize the various and often competing roles which employees fulfill. What makes the organization FF is the recognition of different employee demands and the provision of practical program support. Family-friendliness is encouraged by supportive environments which address employees' WF concerns and conflicts. Unspoken and unwritten assumptions about the separation of work and family embedded in culture, what I've referred to here as interpretive schemes, must be challenged for family-friendliness to occur. This means balancing employee outside family concerns and needs with the organization's operational requirements and policies.

In many cases, family-friendliness means a comprehensive transformation of workplace culture or underlying interpretive schemes. This seems to be a necessary condition in fact for family-friendliness to occur. It often requires changes in attitudes as well as clearly articulated program goals, preferably linked to an organization's strategic plan. Most organizations begin with one or two-low cost programs, often as pilot projects. But the critical factor here is the extent to which employers persevere with the change project and the extent to which employees' needs are really understood and acted upon.

The number of organizations making comprehensive efforts to become FF is limited (Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women, 1989; Betcherman, et.al., 1994). In 1990, The Conference Board of Canada found that in about 40% of nearly 400 organizations had conducted a survey of employee's benefit preferences. Only about half of these same organizations tapped into employee satisfaction with workplace policies, practices, and benefits, and barely 5% had ascertained employees' family and personal responsibilities. The Conference Board of Canada survey groups FF initiatives into four general areas: flexible work arrangements/schedules; dependent care; family- related leaves; and health and wellness programs. Family-related leaves of absence include extended maternity leaves, paternity leaves and brief periods to deal with family appointments or emergencies. Alternative or flexible work arrangements include flextime, job sharing, compressed work weeks, and extended or shortened lunch hours. Dependent care can be a direct form of support, such as the provision of on-site child-care or sick child care, or indirect support such as information about services (Paris, 1989). The common threads in all programs are flexibility and understanding (MacBride King, 1990; Friedman,1991).

Some organizations begin responding to WF issues by determining employee needs, and then tailoring initiatives to meet those needs, taking into account differences by gender, parental status, job type and family type. Other strategies include developing a corporate family policy, WF task forces, a manager appointed to handle family affairs, education for employees to be family-friendly, design of programs and benefits for all stages in life course, expanded family leaves of absence, assistance for employee dependents, management of relocation, and special provisions for older workers (Rosen, 1991).

Galinsky et.al.(1991) notes that organizational efforts to become more FF include provision of dependent care services such as on- or near-site child-care centers, adult day-care centers, sick or emergency-care programs, and before and after-school services. Other

responses includes the provision of information and counseling that helps to reduce stress associated with balancing work and family, or finding needed services.

Employer support can take the form of financial assistance to employees to help them pay for the cost of dependent care services, adoption fees, or long-term care insurance. Some organizations have a variety of alternative work schedules such as flex time, job sharing, compressed work weeks, and work at home. Others focus on communication mechanisms to ensure that programs and policies are understood and used in context of the organization's direction. Still other organizations focus on and support the needs of the community in which employees live and work (Galinsky, 1991). Despite the approach an organization takes, human life course issues, that is, what stage of family maturation their employees are in over the life span, must increasingly be taken into account when designing programs. We may have a need for dependent care at one stage and elder care later on. Benefit needs shift as do needs over the life course. Important, too, is the recognition that an organization's culture or underlying interpretive schemes must also change if any family-supportive policy or program is to have a chance to be effective.

6.2.1 The Manager's Role

In many cases the degree of family-friendliness achieved by any one organization is difficult to ascertain. Often we do not have a clear indication of how available WF programs are to all employees, or if they are actively supported and encouraged by management. We are left to assume that this is the case. According to Betcherman et.al. (1994), FF policies such as flexible schedules and benefits are not available to the majority of employees. MacBride King's (1990) research showed that many employees report uneven access to programs, and that some managers actively discourage employees from taking advantage of programs. Arbitrary application and lack of support implies a threat to an individual's career development and job security.

Formally and informally, managers and supervisors play a key role in creating family-friendly workplaces (Duxbury et.al., 1993; Betcherman, 1994; Magid, 1990). Managers serve as the bridge between employees' and the organizational goals as outlined in business and strategic plans. A manager who has not kept pace with changes in the workplace and has not adapted to changes in the needs of working parents cannot begin to create a family-friendly work environment. Managers "must assume the role of facilitator and mentor - a strategic manager of a major asset, people" (Magid, 1990: 14). The manager needs to understand, cope with, and, in short, manage change. Human skills and the ability to work with people in new ways are crucial. Many employees say that if they could change anything, it would be their manager's response to WF issues. A non-supportive, inflexible manager will likely create employee anxiety and dissatisfaction, increase tension, and decrease productivity (Magid, 1990). Insensitive managers give the impression that the organization is insensitive when that might be a very wrong impression. Supportive managers create an atmosphere of less stress and more job satisfaction. As well-being and the quality of life becomes increasingly important, the manager must move beyond outdated ideas and management techniques (Magid, 1990). This is a task often more easily said than done, as shown in Public Service.

Duxbury and her colleagues (1992: 79), in their study of the Canadian Federal Public Sector, provide support for this. They note that if the supervisor is not family-friendly, it does not matter what the organization's personnel policies are. Many employees in their study were found to desire workplace flexibility most of all. They go on to say that "it is not enough just to offer flexible work arrangements. You have to make sure that managers' behaviours and the organization's culture are changed to reflect the fact that this is an employee's right." Their study team observed that immediate supervisors were mainly responsible for defining what the working experience of employees will be like.

Duxbury et.al. (1992) characterizes the types of managers found. One kind of manager manages more by circumstance than by rules or the book. This resembles the often described "output control manager " who gives a lot of flexibility to employees and discretion in terms of how, when, and where they work simply by focusing on whether the person gets the job done (Eisenhardt, 1985). The other kind of manager is more rigid. S/he has a style called line-of-sight management, watching employees to ensure productivity. This manager is somewhat like the "behavioral control manager "(Eisenhardt, 1985). If control-oriented managers can see employees, they assume that the employee must be working, which is not necessarily true. Such managers penalize non-conforming employees. They make it known to employees that if they take advantage of flexible work arrangements, they will no longer be perceived as good corporate citizens.

Magid (1990) notes that in contrast to non-supportive managers, supportive managers have good communication skills. They attempt to really listen to employees. They are flexible, realistic and consistent. They deal directly and fairly with employees when family care needs impinge on work by listening and by providing information on services and available options. Clearly, for a FF archetype to be realized, supportive managers are necessary.

6.2.2 Archetype Development

As suggested above, we must first determine employees' needs to establish the Public Service FF archetype. The very act of doing this raises awareness about WF issues. Researchers then gain information on the extent of stress in balancing WF, sources of stress, worker/management relations in WF conflict, care-giving responsibilities, awareness of current programs and policies, demographic information, and employee interest in programs to alleviate WF pressures.

In an effort to present an ideal-type FF organizational archetype, I draw from the literature noted above and Galinsky's (1991) FF index categories. I present the ideal type FF organizational archetype in Figure 4 below. The figure shows that these components include flexible work arrangements, leaves of absence, financial assistance, corporate/community giving, dependent care, stress management, and attention to changing management styles and the ideas embedded in culture around WF. The format and selection of components, however are shaped by the needs of the organization and its employees.

Along with the changes to policies and programs, what I refer to as structure is crucial to demonstrate support at all levels of the organization. The behavioural dimensions reflect changes required to values, ideas and beliefs accompanying the family-friendly design archetype. To support changes to behaviours, linkages among performance expectations, the organization's strategic plan and the new archetype must be clearly drawn.

Figure 4 - Family-Friendly Archetype Components

Flexible Work Arrangements

-flextime
-part-time work
-job sharing
-flexiplace/telecommuting

Leaves of Absence

-maternity/paternity
-personal leave of absence
-family leave of absence
-sabbatical/paid leave

Financial Assistance

-flexible benefits/spending account
-long-term care insurance
-adoption assistance
-child care discounts
-vouchers

Corporate Giving/ Community Service

-corporate giving to community/ national initiatives
-funds to benefit employees

Dependent Care Services

-child care resource and referral
-elder care consultation and referral
-on or near-site child care centers
-consortium child care centers
-sick/emergency child care programs
-after school programs
-summer camps
-caregiver fairs

Work-Family Stress Management

- employee Assistance Program
-wellness/health promotion
-relocation services
-work-family seminars/symposia
-work-family support groups
-work-family newsletters

Cultural Change and Commitment

-work-family management training
-work-family coordinators
-work-family handbooks
-performance management goals implemented and reward for family-friendliness
-top level endorsement and demonstration

Sources: Derived from materials presented by Galinsky et.al., 1991 in combination with research by Betcherman, 1994; Duxbury et.al., 1993; MacBride-King, 1990; Magid, 1990.

The Family and Work Institute of New York (Galinsky et.al., 1991) provides a FF Index with which organizations can measure their degree of family-friendliness within each of the seven categories presented in Table 4. The FF index is intended to be used as a comparison tool for executives to evaluate and compare organizational programs as they are currently practiced. The FF index allows us to evaluate within and across each category according to the following six criteria:

1. Impact. Scoring based on the program's capacity to reduce work-family conflict.
2. Coverage. How widely available is the program across the organization?
3. Institutionalization. Is the policy/program formally written and sanctioned or is the policy/program informal, ad hoc or subject to managerial discretion?
4. Commitment. Are resources invested?
5. Level of Effort. Commitment and degree of complexity the implementation requires.
6. Innovativeness. How unique and responsive are the programs?

The descriptive FF index is of some help in assessing Public Service's new family-friendly programs. I use five criteria to assess the Public Service program. My criteria incorporate some of Galinsky's (1991) criteria and include: impetus for change; description of the change program components, taking coverage and innovativeness into account; managerial and organizational supports, taking commitment and level of effort into account; centrality of the change to the organization's core business or service strategy; relative success, taking institutionalization and impact into account. I now move on to specify Public Service's FF archetype.

6.2.2.1 Strategy for Action

The Participatory Action Research (PAR) team used the WC questionnaire data representing employee preferences and needs to develop the Public Service family-friendly model to guide changes. The team referred to "desired outcomes" or "end state" of the project rather than a "model". However, the meanings used for these terms are synonymous with how I have defined the term archetype here. Public Service's WC questionnaire captured many aspects of employees' work and home lives. Some of the more prominent findings included a need for flexible and supportive working environments. Other data suggested a need for changes to management style before supportive family-friendly environments could be produced.

The executive committee members representing various departments and divisions were asked to comment on the survey findings. Their comments and the survey data were then compiled and represented in a document entitled "Strategy for Action". This strategy included programs that had the potential to move the organization from its non-family-friendly status to a family- friendly status. The resultant strategy emphasized the most prominent survey themes and incorporated the executive management's comments regarding feasibility.

6.3 PROGRAM AREAS FOR CHANGE

6.3.1 Needed Changes to Management Style

The need for changes in management technique and style raised in the survey were endorsed by executive management. The executive group highlighted the need for responsible management practices, accountability, employee commitment, open communications and links to a full strategic HR management plan. The following comments elaborate this point:

> Tangible outcomes will depend upon access for funding through the budgeting process and response of employees and management to opportunities.
>
> It is encouraging to note that many of the recommendations recognize the practice of good management, communication, teamwork, shared participation in decision making.
>
> Recommendations suggest a top down approach is necessary. Such an approach would reflect a sincere commitment to the objective of this document.
>
> Communication within the workplace both formal and informal appears to be a concern that underlies many of the recommendations.
>
> Create an atmosphere in which supervisors, managers and employees can become better communicators and exchange ideas.

However, executive management's commitment went no further than these written endorsements. They did not appear to communicate commitment to their staff, only to the HR division. Employees did not feel it was "O.K. to come forward with issues." They wanted to see management "demonstrate their commitment to change beyond lip service." Further demonstration of a lack of commitment was evidenced by the lack of resources or time given to any of the programs. While executive management's position was one of espoused written support, behaviourally there was no support. In the organization's language they did not "walk the talk."

6.3.2 Flexible and Supportive Working Environments

Executive managers appeared to support in principle the additional flexible work schedule and work-family options. They also highlighted the need to consider aspects of needs that change over the life cycle. For example, executive managers noted that:

> Both flexibility and job sharing should be studied in order to become more familiar with benefits and impediments.
>
> Encourage flexibility in the hours of work to accommodate employees home/ school/family demands.
>
> Its good to see that both ends of the age spectrum (child and elder) for care

are addressed. Elder care needs will grow in importance in the future. But, who will pay?

Develop options for child care services.

But their support was not demonstrated through any official endorsement by the DM or ADM's division or through any agreement that their division would participate in programs of this nature. They agreed in principle with the idea of flexible work schedules but did not offer concrete support for them. When other groups were asked to comment, middle management noted that "an effective flexible work schedule program would allow managers to effectively manage, would have a built-in system of cover-off, be sensitive to public service requirements, and would allow for some individual exceptions and flexibility." However, middle management, like executive management, remained very much within the control orientation. It appeared that only non-management employees could see beyond the need for control perspective, which is hardly surprising since they were generally controlled. During the focus group sessions, one non-management employee spoke on behalf of her group and said that they "want to be trusted and provided with opportunities to manage time, work and personal commitments. A full range of flexible options need to be supported for this to occur. This will assist dependent care concerns, teacher-parent meetings, appointments, elder care issues or family emergencies."

6.3.3 Financial Feasibility

Executive management was impressed by the attention to the economic and departmental climate in drafting the recommendation report. They were referring to both the larger societal economic downturn as well as the department's reaction to the economic downturn and leadership change. They raised additional cost concerns, both in terms of available resources and unrealistically heightened employee expectations. This was evidenced by the following comments:

> The lowest cost ideas suggested for courses and seminars are appreciated.
>
> Development of branch training plans is a commendable idea, but may lead to unfulfilled expectations due to budget limitations.
>
> Can we afford the courses? Can we afford the time?

In short, the WF goals of the project were subordinated to "real" organizational concerns as defined by management such as time and money. Executive management agreed to the WF programs, but only if minimal disruption occurred. This was mimicked by HR members. Only WF programs that cost little or nothing could be offered, such as flexible work schedules and workshop given by existing staff members. WF programs were soon labeled "good times" and "nice-to-have" programs, therefore not primary organizational concerns. All organization participants were aware of the need to consider "real" costs associated with the change program. Management and non-management alike increasingly repeated that it was "important not to build unreal expectations." None appeared to place WF issues high enough on the change agenda to see how not dealing with the issues warranted serious "costs" to the organization. There appeared to be an inability or unwillingness to make the connection between employees' WF issues and organizational costs. It occurred to me that perhaps what was needed at Public Service was a more comprehensive system to account also for indirect costs.

6.3.4 Shared Responsibility

In their written comments, Executive managers also raised the importance of shared responsibility and accountability. For example:

> The success of the implementation of the recommendations is dependent on the employees' commitment to acknowledge opportunities presented and advise management of their needs and desires.
>
> Develop a strategic communication plan to improve the image of public servants.

These comments reflect the organizational goals of open communication and the importance of joint responsibility for work between employees and employers. However, the existing organizational hierarchy and control style of management was not considered problematic to the stated goals. Executive and middle management expected employees to participate and voice their concerns. They stated that "more effective communication skills are needed among employees of all levels of the organization," but no attention was given to ways of achieving that goal. Middle management and non-management employees were concerned with speaking up within the status quo, control- oriented situation. Non-management employees thought that :

> communication is crucial for employees at all levels. Skills in targeting audiences through written and spoken work, getting points across clearly and confidentially are crucial. But, we would also like to see management gain greater insights into material learned from courses so that application afterwards is more clearly understood. Training in WF is not enough, an attitude shift is also needed. It is important to us as employees that good performers are rewarded, poor performers are penalized and that managers manage! A supportive environment would place a stronger emphasis on empowerment, it would contain flexibility in approach of managers and in work schedules. It would remove or at least minimize the we/them attitudes that inhibit effective communications and would build mutual trust and respect. Demonstrated commitment beyond the lip service is what is crucial and no more secrecy and greater sharing of information among fellow adults. We need to feel it is O.K. to come forward.

Employees clearly did not feel it was O.K. to speak up, or that open communication was in order. They instead were asking for concrete changes to the organization's basic management approach so that better communication and empowerment would in fact be possible.

Like the non-management group, many in the middle management group echoed similar sentiments. They wanted to see:

> more information about what is currently available in government so that we can provide accurate information to employees. The most important criteria is a demonstrated level of commitment from executive management for change and action now. We want to see a full strategy for change with carefully planned stages aimed at multi-level awareness. To ensure success though, we must pay

attention to the cynicism and hostility that exists among Public Service employees when any type of new program is implemented as well as the very real fear of job loss.

The executive managers' goals of open communication and joint responsibility were surely not yet in place. Employees across all levels appeared to be unhappy. The overall themes that emerged from the executive managers' written comments, the interviews with the managers and the focus groups with non-management employees converged on the following four themes. Employees wanted to see DM and Ministerial support in the following ways:

1. A clear demonstration of commitment to the WF project with clear linkages to an overall strategic plan;
2. A demonstration of commitment from all organizational members, management and non-management alike. This means holding managers behaviourably accountable, "walking the talk" for new expectations through performance management, re-examining limited training budgets, showing long-term plans and follow-through, and holding employees accountable for making their views known;
3. Place an emphasis on good management practices when dealing with employees;
4. Need all employees to carefully guard the public perception and expenditure of public monies on programs.

The ADM of the HR division released the revised Strategy that incorporated employees' concerns, along with executive group's further comments and acceptance of the proposed strategy in principle. The third draft of the Strategy for Action recommendations presented short, medium and long-range time-frames, and in the sub-categories of career, family and the underlying need for supportive family-friendly environments. Figure 5 displays the strategies.

Figure 5
Public Service Strategy for WF Change

Action	Cost
Actions to create a Supportive Environment	
• articulate and adopt overall well-being and realize individual and organizational potential (short-term)	NIL
• outline vision and strategy for employees (short-term)	NIL
• place relevant issues such as WF and supportive environments on Executive Committee agenda (short-term)	NIL
• expand management training to develop supportive environments (short-term)	LOW
• publicize new and existing services (short-term)	NIL
• provide articles regarding flexible work schedule pilots supportive environment and gender bias workshops (short-term)	NIL
• initiate external campaign to improve image of Public Service (medium-term)	LOW
• research attitudes and barriers preventing effective communication at Public Service (medium-term)	NIL
• develop attitudes awareness program to counteract gender based barriers (long-term)	MED
To directly support WF integration	
• pilot management workshops on creating supportive environments (short-term)	LOW
• encourage participation at WF symposia (short-term)	NIL
• pilot flexible work schedules (short-term)	NIL
• provide information sessions (short-term)	LOW
• research feasibility of dependent care provisions including options from information services to direct care (long-term)	MED

As Figure 5 indicates, there was much to be done at Public Service to support the move to a family-friendly organization. As in the case of many of the non-family-friendly

organizations described by Betcherman (1994), the degree of non-family-friendliness at Public Service was striking. Part of the difficulty of assessing and prescribing change for Public Service was due to the diversity of the divisions that made up that organization. Not only did the different divisions become part of the organizations through amalgamations at different times and under different leaderships, but they also differed significantly in the nature of the work completed and overarching managerial style advocated. Some divisions dealt with internal concerns such as money, technology, rules and interpretations, as well as the externally based concerns of overall government policies and providing direct public services. Each division had developed its own way of dealing with the organizational world over time. The development of a WF program that would satisfy all of the divisions was no easy task.

Although many management styles existed in this organization, the majority of managers interviewed and observed appeared across the divisions of Public Service advocated a control management style. They held employees to strict rules, record keeping and controlled work processes. These practices were more in keeping with a traditional approach to HR rather than a strategic approach (Downie and Coates, 1994). What the organization was verbally advocating however was a strategic approach. Because too of the diversity resident in this organization, to actually accomplish the move to a family-friendly state, a deep and sustained commitment to the change agenda was required. Incremental changes were occurring, but not at a level deep enough to change the underlying interpretive schemes, which were not family-friendly. The type of change called for in this project, that is change strong and deep enough to affect attitudes and underlying assumptions, was second-order change. Second order change, as defined above, calls for fundamental, deeply altering change. In other words, it "involves a variation whose occurrence changes the system itself." (Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch; 1974: 10-11).

Due to the complexities within this organization, only a newly created, contextually specific archetype for family-friendliness was appropriate. As a result of the PAR team's investigative efforts, four new programs were developed, implemented, and evaluated during the study period. These programs were as follows: two new training modules intended to produce supportive work environments - targeted at managers; a one day symposium to educate participants on the issues surrounding work and family integration - targeted at all employees; two flexible work schedule pilots, again targeted at all employees, and a communications strategy for the whole organization. Figure 6 below incorporates these programs as components in my summary evaluation of Public Service using the modified Galinsky et.al. (1991) descriptive index discussed above.

Figure 6

PUBLIC SERVICE'S FAMILY-FRIENDLY ARCHETYPE

IMPETUS

More for political show:
Linked to productivity and attendance aspects of performance.
Not actively supported by Executive or Middle Management.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Idea Level Communication strategy
Two workshops - Exploring Gender Bias in Workplace and Creating Supportive and Flexible Work Environments Educational symposia.

Structural Level
Two flexible work schedule pilots.

MANAGEMENT/ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTS

Minimal - time for some individuals to attend workshops.
Distribution of literature.

CENTRALITY OF WF CHANGE TO THE ORGANIZATION'S CORE STRATEGY

Political support until leadership change
Employer wanted to be seen as leader in WF and employee well-being programs, but stressed fiscal responsibility Connection of WF to organization's core strategy of health promotion and care was not made.

RELATIVE SUCCESS **NOT SUCCESSFUL**

Not family-friendly - separation of WF maintained, minimal Flexibility available, controlling management culture maintained.

In light of Public Service's failure to become family-friendly, it is useful to look at other organizations that have made changes to cultural ideas and values and which appear to be moving toward a family-friendly archetype. As mentioned above, I then use the information from these other organizations to contrast the change attempts made at Public Service. I use this comparison to address the research question: "What factors arose to support and/or block Public Service's ability to produce a family-friendly organization?"

6.4 COMPARISON OF PUBLIC SERVICE'S FAMILY FRIENDLY PROGRAM TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL PROGRAMS

6.4.1 Introduction

The Public Service case study shows how WF programs can be shaped by values, rather than only organizational effectiveness or performance. Yet, Public Service's criteria to measure change was contradictory as it centered on attendance as an effectiveness measure. In practice, neither of these two reasons for change was clearly articulated or supported during the project implementation. In fact, both changing values and attendance were used at different times when justifying the project. The impetus for change at Public Service was not clear; it was at best muddled. First, as a government organization, Public Service was responsible for social policy and promotion of health and well-being for employees as well as society at large. By definition, WF issues contributing to overall health and well-being should have been central to the organization's core business. But they were not.

Public Service as an employer was quite different from Public Service as a government organization. Public Service, like other "responsible" government organizations, had to mimic the private sector in terms of fiscal responsibility and budget cutbacks. Bureaucrats perceive public pressure to focus only on performance-related issues such as the provision of customer services. They could not justify change solely on social value grounds. The impetus for change internal in this case, although advocated at the political level, was not

supported at the bureaucratic level. There was no clear demonstrable economic, organizational performance value. Therefore the project lacked clarity and operated as a false front only to satisfy internal dissidents.

In this section of the dissertation, I examine different types of organizations, including Public Service, on the following five dimensions: (1) impetus for change - social value oriented or organizational performance oriented; (2) WF program component description - to see how extensive the programs were; (3) management/organizational supports - including retraining for a more supportive management style; (4) centrality of WF change to core business/service strategy; and (5) relative success of the project.

My rationale for selecting the following organizations is illustrated in Figure 7. I start my comparison with Public Service by using another similar public sector organization. This allows me to examine family-friendly change in public sector organizations. I then consider two large financial institutions which claim to be leaders in creating family-friendly change. Like the public sector organization, these banks are large and have much to consider when creating change. Both claim to give equal consideration to bottom line performance and social issues in creating their family-friendly programs.

I then select a further private sector organization which claims to give equal weight to social values and economic performance. The Body Shop is such an organization, known to be value oriented but also known for leveraging these values into profit. Examination of The Body Shop allows us to consider whether strong founding values of leaders and their clan-like cultures are the key difference in achieving a family-friendly organization. (Clan-like culture refers to a culture that is closed and family-like.) Strong values are shared and maintained. The clan is started by a charismatic committed leader, such as the Body Shop's Anita Roddick, who builds the organization on specific values.

Finally, I consider a non-profit, human services organization, also a value-congruent and strongly value oriented organization. In this case, performance in terms of profit is clearly not the motivator and the strategic orientation of the organization is itself primarily the family-friendly goal. But, like the other organizations noted, the non-profit organization is also interested in organizational performance in terms of improved productivity, morale, and attendance despite the fact that it seeks to maintain its existence purely for social value reasons and is not motivated by profit. This last comparison allows us to comment on the ability of an organization to be social value driven, family-friendly and still function well. There should be little reason to expect that this would be a problem given that the examples are set up that way. The family services organization is the ultimate example.

Figure 7

RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING THE SELECTED FAMILY-FRIENDLY ORGANIZATIONS

Organization Name					
PUBLIC SERVICE	HR	BANK of MONTREAL	ROYAL BANK	BODY SHOP	FAMILY SERVICES
Type of Organization					
large public	large public	large private sector		private sector	non-profit
Organization's Mandate					
public policy and services providers		profit mandate primary, some concern with changing social values			concerned with providing social services
Challenges					
institutionalized bureaucracy, core strategy around service provided		large size makes change difficult must adhere to employment equity legislation		mixes profit & values successfully	values are congruent with service

The comparative analysis of the different organizations across sectors provides us with meaningful insights regarding the relative successes, impetus and/or reasons for change, and basic clarity around the motivation for changing. The last two organizations appear to have family-friendly environments. It appears from these examples that some organizations have made a point to create family-friendliness at the outset. Research suggests that new organizations created with certain values in mind aand who do not have a prior history or institutionalized cultural patterns, are more likely to be successful than those who must undertake substantial change to new value orientations (Walton,1975).

For each organization, I examined information already in the public domain and to fill in gaps, acquired addition information through personal communication with an organization's HR representative. I asked if I could speak with them regarding what their organization was doing to produce family-friendliness. Most of these cases were in the "Canada's Best Employers for Women" listing (1995). I wanted first to compare Public Service with these organizations according to what programs and polices were in place. Because I wanted to find out why these programs were successful, in contrast to Public Service's, I needed to examine problem areas or barriers found in Public Service and ask these organizations how they had handled the same kind of issues. Figure 8 is a summary of my findings and the following discussion. The five criteria used for comparison once again are: 1) impetus for change; 2) program description; 3) management or organizational supports; 4) centrality of social values to the organization's core strategy; and 5) relative success.

After this comparison, I will return to Public Service in the next chapter to discuss the institutionalized supports and barriers experienced during the project and entertain other possible explanations of the project's failure with specific reference to the problem of WF's non-centrality to the organization's core strategy.

6.4.2 Human Resources

6.4.2.1 Impetus

To deal specifically with WF integration issues, the department of Human Resources as an employer provides a variety of flexible work arrangements. Managers are encouraged to approve employee requests, with the knowledge that this will have a positive impact on employees' professional and personal life as well as contribute to organizational and resource flexibility. Provisions for flexibility are set out in the HR document Flexibility in the Public Service (Treasury Board 1995). With this statement, the federal government clearly states both organizational performance and social value issues for accommodating WF issues. This is unlike Public Service, which does not have a supporting mandate from its central personnel agency.

6.4.2.2 Program Descriptions

A Human Resources representative told me that the department has always had an EAP program in the region. As shown in table 8, Human Resources provides employees with direct services, such as counselling services, information referral, 24-hour hot line, workshops in stress management, pre-retirement planning, self-esteem and public speaking. Each individual is given a professional development day with which they are to use the reference center to investigate and learn about a current and topical issue such as change management. The department also has access to flexibility in the workplace as outlined in the Flexibility in the Workplace document, published by the Human Resources Policy Branch of Treasury Board Canada in 1993.

Figure 8

COMPARISON OF FAMILY-FRIENDLY ORGANIZATIONAL ARCHETYPES ACCORDING TO SELECTED CRITERIA

NAME OF ORGANI-ZATION	Human Resources	Bank Of Montreal	Royal Bank	Body Shop	Family Services
IMPETUS	union advocacy organi-zational performance	organi-zational & social values recognition	organi-zational & social values recognition	equally peformance & social values recognition	social values first recognition of organi-zational needs
PROGRAM DESCRIP-TION	negotiated LOA's, LTDI, sick Mat/adopt, personal & self funded LOA, flex hrs, on-site daycare, EAP referral info retirement planning	LOA's LTDI, sick, Mat/ Pat,adopt, people care, days, flex hrs, place EAP, refferral info, workplace equality	LOA's LTDI, sick, Mat/ Pat,adopt, relocation assist, flex hrs, place EAP, referral info, wellness retirement & financial planning	no bias staffing, 3 month employee swapping, 4 hours community service expected, head office dependent care, nurturant environment	value based staffing, community service expected, informal flex hrs, nurturant environ-ment

Figure 8 continued

COMPARISON OF FAMILY-FRIENDLY ORGANIZATIONAL ARCHETYPES ACCORDING TO SELECTED CRITERIA

MANAGEMENT ORGANIZATION SUPPORTS	management resource room, 1 day per/year, training culture	management learning center, all participate linked to management/ organizational performance CEO's visit, video FYI	management training required yearly, 3 days per year, linked to management/ organizational performance, survey update	yearly required training of franchisee linked to organizational performance sales & service	linked to internal/ community demonstration of values, employee performance & morale
CENTRALITY OF SOCIAL VALUES TO CORE STRATEGY	Political support, Union support, Not strongly associated with core strategy of training	Driven by profit and use, Values that make sense as right thing to do and smart business thing to do, protects banks' investment by maximizing full potential of all personnel, central to core strategy		Absolutely central, business based on values for profit, consumers attracted to values-focussed strategy	Absolutely central, value driven service in what and how service performed
RELATIVE SUCCESS	Limited Success	Organizations Claim to be Successful		Successful	Successful

Alternative working arrangements are defined in this Treasury Board document as any type of work schedule, other than the traditional work day, designed to better balance the employee's work and personal life. These arrangements are made possible through a mutually satisfactory arrangement. Forms of available alternatives include telework; a percentage of work away from the official workplace; part time or job share employment; someone working less than normally scheduled full time hours; flexible work hours; or a variable work week.

In addition to alternative work arrangements, there are provisions for dependent care, such as a privately run on-site day care and dependent care referral services. Leaves of absence (LOAs) are also made available to employees. Non-negotiated LOA's include a self-funded leave that allows employees to defer a portion of their gross salary to fund a period of absence away from work. Leaves for medical and dental appointments up to 1/2 day with pay are also available. Collective agreement provisions include an educational leave with up to 100% salary for work-related absence and a return service agreement, non-paid maternity, paternity and adoption leave as well as extended leave up to five years for nurturing pre-school aged children, marriage leave of five days after one year of continuous employment, leave for family-related responsibility, personal leave, leave for relocation of spouse and bereavement leave. In contrast to Public Service, Human Resources has strong support in written policy form. They also have a longer history of using and supporting these programs through a strong employee union.

6.4.2.3 Managerial/Organizational Supports

When talking about management support for programs, the Human Resources representatives noted that it was not an issue. Management in this organization did not

need extra motivation, as it was part of their culture to train and work with employees flexibly. They were "simply already used to doing this every day. Some employees are ready to go where others will want to wait and see if this too will pass." Further, management and union typically work together in Human Resources, which lends support for employees' needs. The degree of support actually realized by employees, however, was not clear since I did not speak to any employees during my visit. Human Resources managers also support training as part of the culture. They provide employees with training opportunities on an ongoing basis in addition to the one day of professional development provided in their policy for the investigation of current topics.

6.4.2.4 Relative Success

Organizational and managerial support for WF appeared to be institutionalized in Human Resources to a greater extent then at Public Service. However, since I did not interview employees' regarding access and opportunity, I cannot comment further. I can only say that these formal policies appear to be family-friendly. However, with respect to Galinsky et.al.'s (1991), benchmark criteria, this organization's success is limited. Impact and coverage were intended to be broad, but in fact appeared to be losing momentum. WF programs had not become institutionalized beyond what existed as regular employee benefits, and even these existing benefits and policies appeared to be waning in response to larger economic and political concerns. This is a point of similarity with Public Service. It was also noted, with some probing, that work- sharing, alternative work schedules, telework etc., were not getting as "much play anymore." The urgency of restructuring and redefining business in the organization was much more prominent. This change in focus signaled an adjustment in social values. The representatives spoke of how values and ideas were to be shifted to accommodate the organization. The organizational commitment to WF was unclear as was the WF program's impact on the organization. The representative suggested that perhaps what was needed was a mandate to change and do

things differently. Sometimes people were recruited according to particular beliefs deliberately in response to a difficulty in making the change occur. "It was difficult," said the Human Resources representative, "to figure out if people's values could be changed, and if so how to do it when ideas and values were out of alignment with the organization's new direction." And with changes imposed in this way, she noted, employees often resisted. A better way, according to the representative, was to show employees how they will benefit from the change. Further, the need for more innovative ways to target WF programs was needed. "We have to find the hooks," she said "because when change is imposed, our employees, both management and non-management, will react."

The Human Resource representative saw outside political and economic forces as having a big impact on the project. She described these forces as being part of something much larger and affecting the way of doing business. She also cited public pressures from taxpayers as most noteworthy. Taxpayers did not want to see increased taxes. They did not want to see poor service or any further expenditures. In her view, it was taxpayer pressures that were more the impetus for the government's rationalization of action and the direction of her department's business. She said that Human Resources wanted to behave more like private sector organization as a result of these pressures.

When asked what she would like to see done differently, she identified faster decision-making. In one case people in the organization had been waiting for several weeks since a budget announcement stated that their organization would be severely cut, but to date did not know where and how the cuts would be experienced. This lack of a decision placed many employees in a sort of limbo. The degree of uncertainty made already difficult WF strain more so for employees. Employees were worried about taking time off even if they were sick for fear that they would be next cut. Due to the lack of information, many could not begin to deal with outcomes as they were not yet known. Employees could not "re-

build or get on with their lives." For all, it was described as stressful and emotionally exhausting.

6.4.2.5 Centrality of Social Values to Core Strategy

In contrast to Public Service, Human Resources did have strong advocacy for employees' issues through their unions. The Human Resource representative said that the unions were able to support and defend employee interests. As a result, Human Resources was somewhat less confused regarding the impetus for WF change than was Public Service. Both economic performance and changing values were used to justify the changes. The Human Resources representative thought that this was probably because the union and management had a history of working together. She said Human Resources had a culture of employee development and good employee/employer relations. In contrast, in Public Service union support of WF issues was weak, the history of management/union relations was more controversial, troubled, and the management culture was more controlling.

Overall Public Service was not clear regarding the impetus for change, they lacked support for the change, and needed economic or organizational performance reasons to embark on the change. The Minister gave her social value reasons for change in the larger political sphere, but efforts within the organization in its employer capacity were contradictory to the values espoused. The department was left to implement the program and to wrestle with this lack of clarity and commitment. Like Human Resources, Public Service had to tread carefully in its role as a social policy state institution and as a responsible employer. The organization was not profit-oriented but due to taxpayers' perceptions had to emulate the private sector and demonstrate fiscal responsibility. They could not be seen as wasting tax dollars on employee programs rather than essential services to the taxpayers. However, as a state body, the same organization had to promote social responsibility for health and well-being including WF integration to the public at large.

The private sector organizations compared here are fundamentally different on this point. Both the public and private sector organizations were interested in cost-cutting measures due to the economic climate. The public organizations however, were interested in balancing their budgets and managing public perception. They chose to implement further controls rather then less. The private sector organizations in my comparison appear to have moved in the other direction - less controls, more employee empowerment. Private sector organizations can do this as they are fundamentally guided by the profit motive. They can empower employees, reduce controls in the interest of maximizing profits in a socially responsible manner supporting overall well-being and work and family integration. The next two organizations claim to be examples of such large, private sector, family-friendly organizations.

6.4.3 Bank of Montreal

6.4.3.1 Impetus

The impetus for change toward workplace equality began as a Task Force on the Advancement of Women at the Bank. It was a business decision, but also reflected requirements of the Federal Employment Equity Act, which applies to all Canadian Banks. The Bank of Montreal stated that it wanted to create a healthy and challenging work environment for all employees. They believed that there was a direct relationship between helping employees balance WF, and the improvement of organizational morale, productivity and customer service. F. Anthony Comper, President and Chief Operating Officer, realized that the bank needed to keep pace with society's changing values and do so through continuous improvement. "Its not just the right thing to do, but the smart thing to do," he said. "It makes the best of business sense, especially in a world where balance has become the priority" (Report on Business Magazine, April 1995: 69). Interestingly,

the Bank of Montreal relied on an economic rationale, in combination with a concern over social values, to produce change.

I noted earlier that due to the nature of WF issues being defined outside of the organization's scope of legitimate issues, it would not fit a purely economic description. This organization got around this by couching a value orientation within the context of improved employee performance. It will be interesting to watch the organization's success at changing ideas and structures embedded in culture over the long term.

The Bank of Montreal used an internal task force to identify employees' perceptions of the barriers to workplace equality. It then went about showing how social perceptions clashed with reality and, to debunk the faulty perceptions, published an elaborate document showing how the existing myths contrasted with reality. In a recent report (Bank of Montreal Milestones Report, 1993), the Bank of Montreal outlined its commitment to and plans for tracking organizational change. The first page outlines the Bank's commitment to workplace equality and action plans (emphasis added):

> We will create an equitable workplace in which all employees have an equal opportunity to enhance and advance their career. We will create a diverse workforce that reflects, at all levels and in all groups, the communities the Bank serves. We will create a supportive work environment in which our equality and diversity goals inform and influence all our other business goals.
>
> To meet the commitment by:
> Working in partnership to develop policies, procedures and learning programs that will remove all barriers to hiring and advancement. Communicating the business and personal benefits of working with a diverse workforce in an equitable workplace. Setting goals for hiring, retaining and advancing a diversity of employees, including members of the following groups: women, visible minorities, aboriginal people and people with disabilities. Removing barriers to hiring and advancement by providing managers with the tools and other resources to effectively recruit, train and advance all employees. Establishing individual accountability for setting and achieving hiring, retention and advancement goals that contribute to the creation of a workforce that reflects the communities we serve. **Helping employees balance their commitments to work with their commitments to family, community and education.** Ensuring more accessible and complete information about job options and career-enhancing

opportunities. Monitoring progress, publishing progress reports, and maintaining an ongoing dialogue with employees.

I have highlighted the section that refers to WF issues. WF issues clearly represent one part of this larger integrated and holistic directive. The importance of the task force's work at debunking the myths and misperceptions cannot be under estimated. This organization actively sought to incorporate new information into operations and culture, thus doing away with misperceptions and myths. This act signaled not only the importance and commitment given to the project, but the direction for change. As a result, the bank provides a possible example of deinstitutionalization and second-order change. It placed people strategically to produce the desired outcomes, committed resources and made all employees accountable for the change in terms of their personal performance. The Bank intended to fundamentally question embedded assumptions and endeavoured to replace the old view with a new view to accomplish the change agenda and as a result change the culture, or what I refer to as the underlying interpretive schemes. This is most clearly unlike Public Service's passive approach and lack of commitment to the issues. Public Service did not consider WF central or justifying its cost to the organization. Instead, it wanted to deal with WF as an "add on" without committing time or money; not to mention the request that change activities did not "disrupt operations." A fundamental requirement and expectation of any change is to disrupt the organization in order to transform it from the pre-change state to a changed state.

6.4.3.2 Program Description

The programs offered at the Bank of Montreal to deal with WF issues include the following:

- Dependent Care Referral Service: Provides information and helps employees to deal with their situations.

- People Care Days: This is a form of family care leave that allows time off to balance multiple commitments. It is also thought of as a very positive way to impress upon staff to get involved with community in whatever form. This policy acts to link the bank more intimately to the community.
- Push Down Authority: To give branches the ability to make the day-to-day decisions regarding the need for flexibility.
- Employee Assistance Program: To provides employees a confidential service to help them deal with issues. Reference to resources, counseling, listening, drug, alcohol counseling, and dealing with children or divorce are all services provided. Further, employees are encouraged to use the service.
- Flexible Work Arrangements: To customize work hours at the bank. They are employee-initiated, manager-approved arrangements that provide employees the opportunity for flexibility in determining when, where or how work gets done. This change was based on compelling evidence that increased self-management translates into increased productivity. The five options available are flextime, flexible work week, permanent part-time, job-sharing, and flexplace.
- Flextime: To enable employees to arrange with the manager when the work day begins and ends. Customer service cannot suffer so on some jobs core hours are required.
- Flexible work week: To enable employees to arrange with the manager a variation on the standard 7.5-hour day, 5-day work week. If the employee is eligible for overtime and scheduled daily or weekly hours exceed those set by Canada Labour Code, the manager must obtain approval.
- Permanent Part-time: To enable employees to set up with the manager a regular schedule in which the employee works less than the bank's standard hours. Salary is affected by any change in full-time equivalent (FTE). If your FTE is 50% or more, benefits will be the same as for full-time employees. But if FTE is between 20% and 49.9% some benefits will be adjusted to reflect the percent of FTE.

- Job-sharing: To enable employees to arrange with a manager to share a job with one or more permanent employees. Because job-sharing is permanent part-time work, salary is affected by relative change to FTE in the same way as permanent part-time.
- Flexplace: To enable an employee to arrange with a manager to work outside of the office. Work could be set up in another bank office, in a home office or where ever an employee would do some or most of their regular work.

This package appeared to offer a full range of flexibility to employees. I cannot comment on accessibility, however, without talking to employees. But even the range of available options provides a clear contrast to the two minimally flexible, contested pilots of flextime at Public Service.

6.4.3.3 Managerial/Organizational Supports

The Bank of Montreal representative noted that Mathew Barrett, Canadian Chair of the Board, had conducted a cross-Canada tour to meet with all staff and talk to them about the issues around workplace equality and his plans. As a follow-up to his personal appearances, the bank communicates its new direction to all employees regularly using video tapes of Barrett. His leadership was key to the success for the bank's efforts here. This was not the case for Public Service, or Human Resources for that matter. The Bank of Montreal's program was radically different in terms of the degree of management and organizational support for the change agenda.

Structurally, the bank set up accountability mechanisms to ensure success. Starting in 1993, the bank's business plan was fiscally integrated with workplace equality goals. In performance planning and review, each manager's success in reaching individual goals, along with her or his contribution to workplace equality generally, was assessed as part of the Performance Planning and Review process. This is the key element to producing

second-order change to underlying interpretive schemes, the combination of accounting for performance and the organization's commitment. It took into account the manager's day-to-day behaviour and his/her success as a role model for fair and equal treatment of all employees. Measurement criteria and a reporting plan were established to track the bank's successes. This included quarterly business plan updates, tracking of programs related to workplace equality, regular employee satisfaction surveys, focus groups, feedback from advisory councils, and comments from employees who had experienced and contacted workplace equality programs directly.

6.4.3.4 Relative Success

The Bank of Montreal intended maximum impact from their efforts and showed sustained and powerful commitment through the appointment of a senior individual and creation of a Workplace Equality committee to oversee the project. The bank's 1993 employee survey found that 71% (as opposed to 56% in 1991), viewed its human resource policies to be applied consistently, and to be supportive of employees with children and family responsibilities. When employees were asked whether the human resources policies took into account the responsibilities of people who have multiple commitments (eg., work, family, education, community), 71% agreed in 1993 as opposed to 44% in 1991. The bank intended deep and broad coverage proposed branch-level innovations to promote further efforts. The effect appeared to be comprehensive deinstitutionalization of outdated non family-friendly practices.

6.4.3.5 Centrality of Social Values to Core Strategy

Like Public Service, both the Bank of Montreal and the Royal Bank (discussed next) provided flexible work arrangements and prepared "how to" information for employees, both non-management and management, to deal with implementation issues.

The Bank of Montreal also provided information on dependent care services. However, there are striking differences in how the programs were implemented and in how management was prepared for them. Public Service managers did not get nearly the same level of training or was their performance monitored in any way to ensure the organization's new ideals and values were achieved. The Bank of Montreal linked management performance directly to the bank's changing direction and effectiveness. It built the debunking of myth and perception around gender biases in the workplace into the cultural change agenda. It knew that the myths around women's commitment to the bank and their abilities relative to their lesser positions were problematic to achieving the goal of equity. Thus the bank concerned itself directly with producing change to inaccurate ideas or myths about women as well as program and policy changes at the outset. I cannot say unequivocally whether or not second-order change has occurred at the Bank of Montreal without talking to employees as recipients of change. But compared to what I experienced at Public Service, the Bank of Montreal appears miles ahead to me. As described here, the bank's program appears to have been much more comprehensive. The first major difference, I think, is in the support and attention placed on management training by the bank to ensure value congruence and their expectations of positive performance results from the implementation effort. A second difference, is highlighted by the bank's more strategic approach to HRM. Although clearly operating within an organizational effectiveness framework, and interested in cost cutting, the bank has empowered employees in the interest of profit (Downie and Coates, 1994).

6.4.4 Royal Bank

6.4.4.1 Impetus

I examined documents and met with two Royal Bank employees representatives about the Royal Bank's Work-Family-Life Program (1991). This program was premised on our now rapidly-changing environment and the relationship between employer and employee,

particularly as it relates to WF issues. The bank considers programs that address the needs of employees and their changing work and family life responsibilities essential to ensure that its business remains healthy and productive and that it is perceived as an employer of choice. Here, the impetus for change is clearly related to organizational performance in terms of profit and productivity, attendance and morale issues. However, as noted in the Bank of Montreal assessment above, the Royal Bank is also under the Federal Employment Equity legislation and has shown slow progress. Other banks such as the Toronto Dominion and the Bank of Commerce are also involved in similar initiatives.

The Royal Bank's reason for embracing WF was described by the Royal Bank representatives as "simply good business," similar to their competitor's position again, operating within the organizational effectiveness framework. Like the Bank of Montreal, the Royal Bank, appears at first glance, to be combining economic performance and social values as a legitimate impetus for change. However, primacy is given to organizational performance and human resources are managed strategically. WF pressures can result in the loss of good employees, the bank's development investment, lost productivity, and increased absenteeism. But the bank's representatives noted that their WF program is also founded on family-supportive values. The bank is sensitive to what the public wants. It is actively encouraging sensitivities toward big social issues of workforce diversification and WF to achieve that goal. It is encouraging the idea that its program both contributes to social goals and protects the bank's human resource investment. But it still has a business to run, and so they note the impetus for change is a blend of organizational, economic and social value considerations. Like the Bank of Montreal, the Royal Bank is actively responding to WF issues. It had developed a corporate program and have committed resources to ensure its implementation and success. It does not, however, appear as aggressive as the Bank of Montreal in achieving change, or what in this dissertation I call deinstitutionalization at the level of ideas. But still, in comparison to Public Service, the

Royal Bank has done a great deal more. The Royal Bank has developed a specific program to address WF issues in contrast to the Bank of Montreal's Workplace Equality initiative that incorporates WF.

6.4.4.2 Program Description

In a recent Report on Business (April 1995) article, the Royal Bank was accorded the distinction of being "Leaders in People Management" by a survey of Canadian CEOs. Its work and family initiatives include flexible work arrangements, paid short-term illness and disability programs, employee assistance programs established to provide professional counseling and referral services to enable individuals experiencing personal problems to get the assistance they need, child and eldercare information services, parents as partners in education that provides information and consultation service on education, selecting schools/programs, and how to succeed in school.

To further demonstrate its commitment to providing a family-sensitive work environment, the Royal Bank developed a WF policy statement:

> The Bank recognizes that Quality People is one of the five pillars of its strategic plan. Having Quality People supports the Bank in its efforts to achieve each of its other strategic goals: Quality Service, Quality Leadership, Quality Assets and Quality Earnings.

Its brochure on Work and Family notes a need for a proactive posture and program to provide employees with an opportunity for a flexible balance between work and family over a lifetime. As noted above, the Royal Bank uses WF as an umbrella concept and offers a consolidated package of policies and benefits, dependent care information services, various flexible work options and management development, all to support the WF program. With reference to Galinisky's (1992), benchmarks, these programs and benefits are far-reaching in terms of coverage, impact, and level of effort expended.

Specific Benefits and Polices include:

- Family Responsibility Leave: Leaves of short duration available to all employees at management discretion.
- Pregnancy Leave: Employees who wish to return to work after the birth of their child are entitled to a leave of absence of up to 18 weeks without salary.
- Childcare Responsibility Leave: In addition to pregnancy leave, any employee with six months' continuous service may apply for a leave of absence for up to 24 weeks, without salary, for the care of a newborn or newly adopted child.
- Spousal Employment Assistance: If an employee is relocated by the bank, she or he may apply for up to $1000 to cover a spouse's job search expenses, education costs or professional association fees in the new location.
- Bereavement Leave: In the event of a death in the immediate family, employees are entitled to a three day leave of absence with pay. If more time is required, an extended leave without pay may be granted at management discretion.
- Travel - Compassionate Reasons: When, as a result of a bank-initiated transfer, an employee and/or spouse must return to the home point for compassionate reason, such as illness or death in the family, the employee will be reimbursed to a maximum of two return economy air fares during the course of his or her career.
- Access (Employee Assistance Program): This is a confidential service that provides professional consultation to employees experiencing problems including stress, marital conflict, and financial, legal, and substance abuse. This service is provided by an outside professional agency. The service is available free of charge to all employees and their dependents.

Information Services and Resource Materials regarding WF include:

- Childcare Information Service: A national information and counseling service which can help employees locate and assess childcare opportunities within the communities where they live and/or work.
- Childcare Handbook: A document containing a list childcare options, key ingredients for good childcare, and managing childcare partnerships, as well as other useful information for working parents.
- Eldercare Information Service: A document that provides employees by providing referral information about quality care available for the elderly.
- Eldercare Handbook: A document that covers important information regarding good eldercare, convalescent care, cost and affordability, and managing the eldercare relationship, as well as other useful information for working people who are responsible for elderly dependents.

Flexible Work Arrangements include:

- Part-time work: This is an option where employees work less than 37.5 hours per week on a regularly scheduled basis with pro-rated salary and benefits.
- Job sharing: This is when two people share the responsibilities and salary of one job. Job sharing can create regular part-time employment where there is a need for a full-time position. It is particularly useful in providing part-time opportunities for professional or managerial positions where the workload cannot be cut back or where responsibilities cannot be subdivided.
- Flexiplace: This occurs when an employee works off-site, either at home, at client locations or in satellite offices for part of the week. This can be particularly useful when the nature of the work requires the employee's presence at the office for only brief periods, when the employee regularly commutes between two or more work areas or in situations involving special customer contact requirements.

- Flextime: This provides than an employee works a standard 37.5-hour week with assigned core hours and flexible start/finish times.
- Compressed Work Week: This is a standard 37.5-hour work week which is condensed into fewer than five days. The most common form of compressed work is the four-day week. The success of this type of flexible work arrangement is also very dependent on the nature of the work in the business unit; thus it is primarily suited for operational and administrative environments.

Although the Royal Bank apparently conducts an employee survey periodically to determine the success of their efforts, this material was not available to me. Furthermore, because I did not have access to employees themselves to ask how well the programs worked or the extent access, I cannot draw specific conclusions regarding the degree of success. I did see that like the Bank of Montreal, the Royal Bank built the WF goals into the performance incentive system. At one level I was somewhat suspicious that what the Royal Bank representatives provided could in fact be regarded as impression management. I pressed them at one point to ask if their efforts were connected to other agendas, such as keeping unions out of the bank. They denied this and proceeded to fill me in on their beliefs around employment equity. I found the bank's representatives to be eager and willing to share most information and believed them to be genuine, even with my reservations. This degree of commitment and clarity of intent around the change project was missing among Public Service's management group.

6.4.4.3 Management/Organizational Supports

Commitment by the organization and institutionalization of the change are ensured by making all employees accountable for the change in their personal performance. An employee has no option as to whether or not to support the bank's value system. When the bank mandates change, employees are required to change their behaviour. All employees

are directly accountable for their behaviour and treatment of other employees. Every year there is a three-day workshop on these issues. This did not sound sufficient on its own to support the change. But the three-day workshop was only to support and refresh employees each year as to the mandated changes. This appeared similar on the surface to what Human Resources offered but, in this case, the change was required and linked to performance. The Royal Bank representatives noted that some employees have come a long way with the information provided and perspectives are changing. The need to step back periodically to "examine where we have come from" was encouraged. Productive two-way feedback is encouraged. They believe that there is not much fear from the front-line employees today. "If the new value system is not adhered to, we find out why." A survey is completed every year among front-line staff. This survey acts as a gauge to find out how things are going.

Management Development to support new direction includes:

- Work and Family Management Development Module is a new W/F training module developed and used as an integral part of the Bank's Management Development Programs. This includes the Quality People, Quality Leadership conference. The module intends to help managers respond more effectively to issues related to work and family. It also intends to help managers understand the strategic importance of creating a family-sensitive work environment and provide awareness of related Royal Bank policies and practices.

6.4.4.4 Relative Success

Success in this case can be judged in terms of how the bank implemented its programs. They intended maximum impact, full institutionalization and commitment through their accountability measures. They intended to provide coverage to all employees in innovative ways at the branch level. Their efforts are large-scale and comprehensive. Historically, the

workforce did not represent society. Now the bank has decided to make sure their workforce reflects society, remove the barriers to full equity, and communicate a real understanding of difference. The barriers they wanted to overcome were consider by the Royal Bank representatives as conventional as expected in a large, white-male-dominated organization. These inequitable barriers privileging white males in the organization are very similar to what is found still in Public Service. The Royal Bank wanted to encourage flexibility and support, more decentralization in decision making to allow branches to deal with the day-to-day issues, and promotion of shared responsibility and accountability.

To ensure success of this strategic HRM plan, the Royal Bank identified employees who mirrored the new values and placed them strategically in leadership positions. These new leaders were to champion the new ideas and values through their behaviours and decisions. Prior to this action, the representatives noted that "there were always sympathetic people (to the issues) out there, but now they form the cornerstone." This was somewhat similar to the Bank of Montreal's strategy of directly dealing with and dispelling myths and misperceptions. However, in this case people were used strategically to affect change. They were moved around to work at change in a less active, but certainly effective way. The goal in each case was to get at problematic underlying assumptions regarding the suitability of WF issues and workplace equality in order to create change.

While I lack definitive outcome measures to claim second-order change, the examples of both banks indicate that policies and programs in place that are radically ahead of those in Public Service. It appears that the Royal Bank and the Bank of Montreal have produced or are in the process of producing meaningful change as a result of their efforts. Public Service and Human Resources, by contrast, have more conservative approaches to managing HR and a long way to go to even begin to produce meaningful change.

6.4.4.5 Centrality of Social Values/Issues to Core Strategy

The people and management of HR have been fully integrated into the Royal Bank's leadership program. WF issues have thus become central to achieving the organization's core aim of remaining competitive and responsive to the changing workplace of the 90's. The representatives told me that the bank put the "right" people in the "right" places to work at and bring the overall perspectives into alignment with the bank's direction.

The Royal Bank and the Bank of Montreal both began with reference to their organizational performance and bottom-line issues. However, in each case, we also see reference to social responsibility and "doing the right thing." The mandate for change was supported by the top individual, not unlike many change initiatives cited in the organization change literature. But the difference here is that changing employees' needs are also taken into account, which is unlike the organization change literature. More typical change initiatives deal with technology advances, new market niches, or declining market share.

We might say that in the Financial sector human resources are truly valued and not just the subject for further rhetoric. But a skeptic might also suggest that the interest here in organizational performance is also linked to controlling costs. 70% of the bank's workforce is female, so WF issues are ignored at the bank's peril. Perhaps too, if employee needs are not taken into account by the employer, then employees will see union advocacy as a way to serve this end. Clearly, unionization would drive HR costs up in this case and have a direct negative impact on the organization's profitability. With such a predominantly female workforce, unionization with reference to WF issues would have a substantial impact.

WF issues and managing people issues in this industry appear to be given much attention. In each case a senior person to deal with these issues was appointed. The initiatives' relative success appears high. However, as noted above, without a fuller investigation of these issues, including some indication of how the bank's treatment is perceived by its employees, I am reluctant to make that claim with certainty.

When compared to Public Service, however, the differences remain remarkable. At Public Service I did not see leadership commitment to the WF project to the same degree. I did not see a strategic planting of individuals to create changes to social values. WF issues were not linked to the organization's core business or strategic goal. I did not even see a mirroring of the new ideas, values expected, or accountability expected. Employees at Public Service had the option of accepting (or not) the changes suggested by the HR division. No support mechanisms were created to ensure this or even support it. Senior management never clearly communicated why the change was important to the organization, which was also true at Human Resources.

Perhaps organizations with a profit motive are more able to justify change such as WF to shareholders if the impetus to keep employees longer, and decrease absenteeism, actually translates into real cost savings. Yet other public sector organizations have become family-friendly, too, according to Duxbury (1990). It is also important to note that the Bank must adhere to federal Employment Equity legislation. Public Service does not have this requirement. In fact, Public Service exists within the only province that does not have an interest in such a program. Clearly this impetus may have greater weight as a form of a mandatory compliance mechanism - more effective then both social values or "doing the right thing" would have for business reasons. The impetus for change at the Banks was clearly not an exclusively social value oriented one. Almost certainly it was a mixed

strategy that included an emphasis both on economic performance and changing social values.

6.4.5 Body Shop

We now move on to another private sector organization that claims to put equal emphasis on economic performance and changing social values.

6.4.5.1 Impetus and Centrality of Social Values to Core Strategy

Unlike the two banks, which are primarily driven by the profit motive, the Body Shop sees social values clearly as defining its core business. The Body Shop's business is to provide skin care products that are not pretested using animals and are environmentally- friendly. The centrality of social values is not just for the benefit of employees, but is a crucial component of the firm's marketing strategy. Economic benefit is thought to be derived both from improved employee productivity and from increased revenues. From the beginning, personal values and ethics have directed the Body Shop in its quest for success in the founder's belief that "business should have a conscience and a bottom line mentality" (Roddick, 1992). The Body Shop founder's goal is to pursue honesty and integrity in products, promote awareness, support and involve the organizaton in social issues and community. According to founder Anita Roddick's biography (Body and Soul, 1992), the Body Shop encourages employees to think and respect others' and not to discriminate. Employees are selected in their perceived "ability to adapt quickly, swallow their egos and really listen to others' opinions and feelings" . Success depends on the employees and franchisees, so they seek specific characteristics in them. Employees are thought to be intelligent, and to possess a strong sense of character, strong ethics, and positive attitudes. In any event, they must fit the culture. The Body Shop is an example of a strong clan-like culture, a culture resembling a large extended family or clan, that excludes outsiders. The implication is that those who do not fit will be let go or, more likely, will not be hired in the

first place. An example of how the Body Shop ensures that employees fit their culture is found in the franchisee application. Some of the questions on the application include:

- What do you do when you are not working?
- What do you like best about your present occupation?
- What have you done to feel proud of yourself? not so proud of yourself?
- If you could change the world, what are the 5 things you would put at the top of the list? Which are realistically capable of implementation over the next decade?
- What do you consider your greatest achievement? Greatest regret?
- How would you like to die?
- If you could choose to come back, how would it be?
- If you could live anywhere, where would it be?
- Express your thoughts on the Canadian work force. What is your image of an ideal employee?
- What is your greatest fear?
- What would you do if you were given 5 million dollars?

These questions are fairly subjective, or biased toward a certain accepted type of answer. The individual who conforms to the cultural ideals may be offered a franchise. We are not given any information in the Body Shop document regarding those who fail to comply with what is expected from a franchisee or about employees who do not comply during their orientation phase. I was not able to find a representative of the Body Shop willing to speak to me about the inner workings of the organization after my call to the Toronto main office. All information in this section of the dissertation is taken from available literature regarding the Body Shop, which tends to be somewhat less than critical in approach (Roddick, 1992).

6.4.5.2 Program Description

Head office facilities include: a "living machine," which is an on-site biological wastewater treatment system; energy efficient lighting, heating and cooling systems; an employee training facility for all new and existing franchisees and corporate staff; a patio and gardens; and a daycare facility. The Body Shop in all locations provides a safe psychological environment by: a) allowing employees the opportunity to train and practice; b) supporting and encouraging employees to overcome the fear and shame associated with making errors; c) coaching and rewarding efforts deemed to be in the "right" direction; d) establishing norms that legitimate making errors; and e) establishing norms that reward innovative thinking and experimentation. Apparently many of these provisions are accomplished through supportive work groups. We are not told exactly how these work groups operate, however.

6.4.5.3 Managerial/Organizational Supports

The Body Shop uses cross-functional teams, without job titles, and provides company-wide information to managers. Staffing policies claim to contain or show no bias toward selection , development or promotion based on race, sex, age, or nationality. Selection appears instead to be based on values as noted above and a supportive clan-like culture is clearly perpetuated based on a strong sense of ethics and responsibility. According to Roddick (1992), this is carried out in dealing with employees. Employees are expected as part of their job to be active in the community and part of their salary is supposed to cover their community activity time. Community projects are important to the Body Shop as they teach staff to be kind and participate with others. They are paid four hours a week to take part in some form of community service.

6.4.5.4 Relative Success

The Body Shop has been enormously successful in institutionalizing its value-oriented business approach. It had over 12 years grown from a single store in Toronto to 95 across Canada with sales exceeding $100 million per year. Its commitment is a "belief in profits with principles" and that "business should help others." They believe that people shop at the Body Shop because the store supports their own value system. Margot Franssen, the Canadian Body Shop CEO, has been recently asked to sit on the board of a major Canadian bank. The bank's rationale was that business must keep up with social obligations and responsibility today. This does not sound much different from the banks I reported on in the previous section of this chapter. Is this impression management or a genuine concern?

Clearly social values, ethics, and corporate responsibility are central to the Body Shop's effectiveness and core business strategy. The organization was founded on these values, recruits franchisees and employees and maintains these values by rewarding them within the business between employees and between each store and its community. This combination of social and economic organizational performance is obviously very powerful for the Body Shop. This organization is unique. Compared to the other private sector organizations, this organization is different. It has appeared to live its values from the outset for profit motives. They are very successful too. Its interest in WF is unclear, however, it does appear to support the overall well-being of employees and are concerned about responsibility in terms of the business environment. Unlike Public Service, values are central to this organization's core business strategy. This aspect, in fact, is central to the Body Shop's success. Its their goal to attract customers with congruent value orientations.

Because the Body Shop is a profit-oriented organization, my comparison requires one final example. WF issues do not need to be justified in terms of economic advantages but also

have merit exclusively in terms of changing social values. Examples of this include environmental issues regarding waste disposal, child labour, slavery. It is therefore important to consider yet another organization in this comparison to complete the picture. The last organization in my comparison is non-profit and is clearly interested in changing social values as its core business.

6.4.6 Family Services

My last case is from the non-profit sector, specifically an organization that provides services such as counseling on dependent care, violence and other family issues, foodbank liaison, assistance with social services documents, and organizing volunteer duties.

6.4.6.1 Impetus

Like the Body Shop, Family Services revolves around a core of congruent values. In this case however, the non-profit organization clearly sees social values as central to its organizational strategy in addition to its ideological purpose. It emphasizes the role of values in their business, as does the Body Shop, but do not expect to extract profit. It also wants performance to be guided by those values at work with fellow employees and clients. Unlike the Body Shop, Family Services is accountable to a board of directors for how the organization serves the community and for the efficient use of its funded resources.

6.4.6.2 Program Description

The WF program at Family Services is informal and a reflection of the Executive Director's own personal values. The Executive Director created the WF program when she took the position in the agency. She did not think it necessary to formalize a program due to the small number of employees involved and wanted it to remain ultimately as flexible as possible.

This organization, like the Body Shop, is an example of a 'greenfield site'. Both were built on a value system, in contrast to the other cases I examined above, and did not have to change, to become family-friendly. Employees have access to part-time work that is negotiated with the director and flexible work hours, again negotiated with the director. Flexibility is arranged around the services provided and the hours of those services as well as employees' personal needs. Community service over and above job requirements is encouraged. The organization strives to recruit nurturing employees who truly believe in the importance of social issues and in providing help and encouragement. Community service thus becomes one of advocacy and commitment to the issues and values espoused by the organization rather than simply extra unpaid work.

6.4.6.3 Managerial/Organizational Supports

The organization reflects the Executive Director's personal values. She is very supportive of WF issues and allows individuals to attend their children's school functions and make up the time when they can. She allows emergency concerns to be dealt with. She is however, firm that these privileges and supports are available to all employees, regardless of rank, and that the nurturing culture provides for all employees and is not specific to certain occupational groups. To illustrate her point, she provided me an example of an employee causing dissension in the organization over an incident where the employee did not feel the manager had a right to take advantage of the same privileges as other employees. These values of nurturance, acceptance and flexibility were so strongly-held, an indication of another clan-like culture, that the individual left the organization by mutual consent.

6.4.6.4 Centrality of Social Values to Core Strategy

Social values are absolutely central to this organization's effectiveness and performance. WF program flexibility was offered because the director believed the WF issues were fundamentally important. Employee well-being and nurturance of self and family were central to the organization's business. But the director also recognized the importance of providing flexibility and support for WF due to organizational performance issues. She noted the improvement of productivity, morale, and attendance as a further impetus for the flexibility offered, thereby increasing the organization's ability to achieve its strategic social value-oriented goals at a time of decreasing funding.

Individuals within both Family Services and the Body shop were supported and nurtured according to specific values. Values were particularly relevant in Family Services as a core characteristic thought needed to do the job. The employees' ability to nurture each other and work in the community also promoted both organizations' performance: the Body Shop in terms of profitability, the Family Services in terms of helping clients. Community service was expected at both the Body Shop and Family Services as integral to the job. Community duties were thought important to keep employees, hence the organization connected to community needs and able to do their jobs better. Employees could conceivably anticipate where new niches for services were needed. Interestingly, the Bank of Montreal and other organizations are also becoming involved in community service. Like the Body Shop's, the bank's rationale is partly economic gain, whereas Family Services clearly promoted WF issues as part of its value-oriented motives related to a central mandate. The director reported that due to the staff's performance, in some ways related to their WF program's succes, the organization itself was functionally successful.

6.4.7 Summary

I want to return now to briefly to the question of why organizations implement WF change. Is the change due to a change in social values or organizational performance? Clearly, the Bank of Montreal, Royal Bank, and Body Shop were motivated by effectiveness, performance and profit. But the Body Shop differs from the other two private sector organizations in the centrality it places on social values. The Body Shop and Family Services organizations were built on core, congruent values from the outset. Unlike the other organizations, the Body Shop and Family Services did not have to undergo change from one archetype to another. They instead started out as family-friendly. This relates to my earlier comment about the Body Shop and Family Services as being examples of greenfield sites.

Human Resources was much less clear on its motivations for becoming a family-friendly organization while Public Service had an even more ambiguous rationale for change. Although not profit generating, in both cases these public organizations were concerned with performance and cost savings initiatives. They were not like the private sector organizations either in their lack of commitiment to combining social values and economic performance. Success in the public sector organizations was limited due to a lack of clarity and commitment, reflecting a weak rationale for change. Unlike Human Resources, Public Service could not point to strong union support for the change or a workplace culture advocating the issues both socially and politically. Like Family Services, Public Service could have pointed to espoused political support of the issues as a result of the organization's core purpose in providing health services. Behaviourally, however, there was limited or no support for the change. The support that did exist was among employees and some middle managers and informal. But, as shown earlier, these people, self-proclaimed as the converted, felt unable to produce any change of consequence due to the overarching management culture of control. When some small changes appeared to be

occurring among this group, the traditional management approach to HRM was re-established through the introduction of a further control - the proposed attendance management program. The failure of the Public Service to seek value congruence and less control to produce a FF organization is related also to its "public sector" nature. Organizational effectiveness criteria in combination with changing social values were relevant to Public Service but the impetus for change was not strong enough to unfreeze the existing "control" orientation. Public Service did not have as clear a mandate as the Banks. Yes, Public Service was interested in effectiveness criteria such as balancing their budget , guarding public perception, and dealing with fiscal restraint. But their reaction to pressures was not to move away from control in the interest of profit but to implement further controls. They continued with outmoded structures and controls and had no real impetus for change. Sharing power with staff was not part of what Public Service was about. Their efforts were more rhetorical than substance (Downie and Coates, 1994).

So the question becomes, if leadership, commitment, union support, an effective HR strategy were in place and if severe restructuring and downsizing were not a reality, would FF change have occurred at Public Service? Maybe. But given the inertial forces at work at Public Service, its Public Sector nature, the lack of value congruence around the change agenda, and the many barriers encountered, I still say not very likely.

I now want to shift my focus to the supports and barriers experienced during the Public Service WF project. Through a comparison of Public Service's failure to the experiences of other family-friendly organizations, we notice many insitutionalized barriers. In the next chapter, I bring those barriers into focus and show how Public Service's program, like many others, failed to produce meaningful second-order change.

CHAPTER 7. FIRST- AND SECOND-ORDER CHANGE TO UNDERLYING INTERPRETIVE SCHEMES

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the main institutional barriers that prevented family-friendly change at Public Service. To address the depth and meaningfulness of change, I contrast first- and second-order change in a description of what occurred at Public Service. I refer to the mild dialectic that occurred between competing interpretive schemes surrounding flexible work schedules to bring the barriers into sharper focus. I consider the political, functional, and social characteristics of the barriers in answer to the second set of research questions: To what extent were institutionalized barriers found in a) ideas embedded in organizational values and b) management behaviours? i) How did these institutionalized barriers prevent Public Service from producing second-order change? ii) Could Public Service still have produced second-order change regardless of the institutionalized barriers? If so, how? Thus, I conclude this chapter by considering the merits of deinstitutionalization theory in producing second-order WF change.

7.2 PUBLIC SERVICE AS AN EXAMPLE OF FIRST-ORDER CHANGE

7.2.1 Internal Barriers and Supports to the Change Agenda

I now re-address the research question: What organizational factors arose to support and/or block Public Service's WF organizational change program? I consider the internal barriers and supports affecting the change program. I then go on to look at political and leadership issues negatively impacting the likelihood of the project. What we discover with the discussion of various barriers and supports is that even though Hinings and Greenwood's (1988) theory accounts for the actual process of change occurring in this public sector case, it does not go deep enough with respect to the confrontation of old and new archetype that occurs during change. I supplement Hinings and Greenwood (1988) here with Bartunek

(1987) in an effort to talk more about the dialectical conflict between existing and new ideas that occurred during the project. But Bartunek, like Hinings and Greenwood, also fails in getting us beyond first-order change. None of the authors move us beyond organizational performance and effectiveness as a viable impetus for change. We need to broaden the explanation to include changing social values as a reason to change, in combination with aspects of effectiveness and performance. Deinstitutionalization is then used to examine barriers and get past the taken-for-granted assumptions.

Hinings and Greenwood (1988) developed a broad framework for understanding how second- order changes to structures and interpretive schemes occur. With their work, we can track Public Service from its non-family-friendly state as it seemed to move toward a more family-friendly state. In the first part of this chapter, I draw primarily from Hinings and Greenwood's work.

7.2.1.2 Supports - Precipitators, Directors and Enablers

In order to better understand the factors that might have facilitated second-order change and produced a family-friendly organization, Hinings and Greenwood (1988) provide the analytical categories of precipitators, directors and enablers of change. Precipitators exist both internal to the organization and external to it. This element refers to events that occur in the organization's environment that lead to a change in structure, system, and culture.

External precipitators did exist at the political level in this case. The Minister responsible for Public Service publicly announced her support of the issues. She acknowledged, in her role as state representative, the larger social pressures regarding health, work and family balance, and overall well-being as found in the Women's Health report. The Minister also acknowledged and supported the work that her colleague, the Minister responsible for the Central Personnel Agency was doing in partnership with the Union

President on WF issues. Their joint Work and Family survey was sent to all employees in all departments. The survey acted as a precipitator of change, as it raised the level of awareness of WF issues at Public Service.

Leadership support of the change agenda, (both political and bureaucratic), initially appeared to be in place. Similarly, both management and non-management employees in growing numbers appeared to be pushing for the change.

> We must recognize the demands on individuals today regarding family requirements.We could create a more supportive environment for women with kids etc. I'm not hearing this from other environments...its crucial that permission be given to let individuals deal with their extra demands. (Female Manager R1)

These two important precipitators for change and deinstitutionalization of non family-friendly ways were evident. The DM of Public Service reinforced his Minister's sentiment and wrote to all employees regarding the importance, and his support of, work in the area of employee well-being and WF issues as shown by his memo on page 81 above. However, employees, both managerial and non-managerial alike, continued to express skepticism at this initial message and complained that there was a need for and lack of meaningful WF change. For example:

> There was absolutely no direction...if it was a direction I would have feedback and a strong sense of support in that area but that was zero! Staff look at the organization past management level and the employer's own director and ADM and ask are they trying to really balance work and family? (Female Director, R. 16).

Others suggested the need for fundamental change in the Deputy's message:

> I think the Public Service must make fundamental changes in what we believe to be good health, good care and take a good look...does it meet the needs, needs are now different and our existing structure does not meet those needs....must get back to the basics and family and community development ..there are a lot of gaps...we must concentrate on looking at people as whole! (Female Manager R2)

Other management employees pointed to the difficulty of changing Public Service due to the need to alter management as a whole. Management needed to become more sensitive the WF issues and be allowed to provide flexibility in response to the issues.

> This type of program [WF] is needed throughout the hierarchy. Work and non-work are becoming more and more blended...there is lots more to juggle now and that is being compounded...there is more pressure today...the degree to which managers can understand will be a good skill. It takes sensitivity, interviewing skills and the ability to make judgments that are appropriate regarding strategies for family service, employee relations...it may mean saying, take the rest of the day off. (Male Manager R3)

Many thought the existing management group did not have the skills to accomplish such a change. Employees agreed that what was needed most was that which was not available: flexibility and a supportive working environment. During the focus groups, employees noted:

> Employees want to be trusted and provided with opportunities to manage their own time, work and personal commitments. A full range of flexible options need to be supported for this to occur. This will assist those with dependent care concerns, teacher-parent meetings, appointments, elder care issues or family emergencies. (Employee Focus Groups)

Precipitators for change were coming from the political level as well as from increasing dissatisfaction among employees at Public Service. All employees regardless of rank, reported a desire to see "concrete action" and information on "how to" cope with impending change. But the executive management group did little else but mimic political will and continue on with no change to their status quo operations. The Minister's activities both as state representative and department leader acted initially to precipitate change at Public Service. Her activities in part were brought about due to heavy electoral pressures and activities of her colleague in WF issues. The DM's activities also initially acted to support the Minister's commitment at Public Service. Employees' concerns also acted as precipitators for change internally in this case. But regardless of the many types of precipitators present, follow-through was sadly lacking.

In addition to the precipitators of change, there were noteworthy directors of change at Public Service. Directors of change refer to the values and interests that exist within the organization. Directors are also those ideas to which organizational participants are committed. These are the ideas that tie employees to the organization's interpretive schemes, systems and structure. To get new ideas out to employees where they can be discussed and internalized was critical in this case. Ideas surrounding flexibility and supportive environments were of greatest importance. Among management and non-management employees there appeared to be commitment to new values acting as directors of change. For example:

> I feel there are big problems in this department as a whole. Long term employees are burned out. I think these programs are necessary and are good things but, some managers don't think so and think these are not useful. (Female Manager R.4)

> These programs are absolutely needed 100%...management needs to know that even more fundamentally, they need to learn to manage in today's environment...to provide support to employees. We need a mind set to start. I only talk to staff to discipline or congratulate. We need a lot of management development in this area before we can understand the concepts here. (Male Manager R.5)

These managers agreed that change was required. Employees were experiencing difficulty. But managers were not supported to make the necessary changes. They felt that change was needed not only to provide the WF program but to alter management philosophy in the department. Without formal change to that management philosophy, their ability to provide flexibility to employees was extremely limited.

> We try to be as supportive as we can...deal with rules and the collective bargaining unit...we flex around that...parents, spouses, childcare but, its all done under the table....I don't want to go fully by the book. (Female Manager R.6)

Employees themselves were keenly aware of limitations in the department. They wanted a supportive environment so they could legitimately bring their WF issues forward. Most of

all, they wanted flexibility and empowerment to manage their own lives around their competing WF demands. Over and over again, I heard employees reacting to the organization's control-oriented management style. It appeared to me that most of what the employees wanted was simply flexibility, autonomy and respected treatment.

> A supportive environment would place a stronger emphasis on empowerment, it would contain flexibility in approach of managers and in work schedules. It would remove or at least minimize the we/them attitudes that inhibit effective communications and would build mutual trust and respect. (Employee Focus Groups)

While there was clearly a well spring of ideas in support of change, the direction of that change was not clear. To some extent, individual change agents acted as directors of change at Public Service during the early stages. The most visible director of change group was the WC. However, as noted above the WC's responsibility for the WF change project was taken from them and given to Public Service's HR division. The change in responsibility was seen positively by Director B as a way to incorporate and centralize the change project into the department's business rather than treating it as an added-on feature. It was also described by Director B as a way to "bring the project into line" which meant, to turn it into something that the organization could easily manage. He noted that the WC had not listened to the DM or the ADM of HR and instead continued on with their broader "unrealistic" plans.

This change in responsibility for the project was seen by WC as extremely negative. Members of the WC described the change in the direction of the project as an attempt to dilute and contain the impact of change that was really needed.

> There is a long history of the questionnaire...it just died and got watered down...we did a lot of work...then it died completely...Director and ADM were totally out of their depth, they were floundering, would not rely on the resources they had to support it...they both wanted too much control and involvement...lots of aspects were brushed under the carpet...there was a lot of dissatisfaction with management and the need for mandatory management training. (Female Manager R.7)

The removal of the WC from the WF project, was a major institutional barrier stalling change and marginalizing the project. The reassignment was evidence, according to the WC, that there was no "real" commitment to the change. The only commitment was to be "seen" doing something, while leaving the status quo intact. This meant doing the minimum, or what Cockburn (1991) refers to as in the short-agenda, rather then a long-agenda, substantial transformative type of change.

Others saw the change in responsibility for the project as a form of punishment for political action. The WC requested that Public Service make a statement after the news story of a brutal murder of young women as noted above. But their request was instead seen by the DM as inappropriate.

> We wrote a letter to the DM after the murders and we were told never to do this again! We only wanted to mark the day. (Female Manager R.8)

Direction and support became tenuous in this project as it moved along. The dwindling support and direction weakened and diluted the power held by the initial enablers of change. Enablers of change are those elements which provide the organization with the ability to carry out change. Two important enablers are power and capability. Support for the change direction at the department level was indicated by executive committee's written comments as noted earlier. But below the executive level, at the middle management level where change was actually executed, there was little evidence of that commitment. This is in direct contrast to the bank representatives described above who acted as champions of the new direction, empowered to bring other individuals into alignment through accountability. In fact, what the case organization shows instead is strong management-level resistance to the project. Even within the branch responsible for implementing the change projects, problems in support and commitment existed. Director B said:

> I think we would have been more successful on things if we didn't ask to do them. We asked because we didn't know better...it was my level of comfort with the amount of risk and empowerment I was prepared to take.

Where enablers may not have played out in official support there were, however, unofficial activities. Manager's ability to provide informal flexibility and support worked to enable some change at Public Service. It was not an issue of skill, but one of granting the power to act within the parameters of a particular context. The following examples show how some managers supported the project informally:

> Flexible work schedules are needed here...they are needed in this society. Single parents, working parents, all the demands...they need it to deal with all sorts of outside concerns. In my organization, we work with flexible hours...there are no dictated hours.[He meant no dictated hours around the core hours of 9 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.] (Male Manager R.9)

It was also clear that these managers did not feel confident that they could yet offer flexibility yet formally. The organization, in their mind, was not ready to support such changes. For example:

> Some managers dictate...do what I tell you...others are willing to work with employees. (Female Manager R. 10)
>
> I'm not going to involve personnel and the union because then it [WF program] gets wrecked...The managers support it [flex]...but, the director doesn't know about it...its a big deal for employees. But, operational requirements come first and sometimes even though they would like a day scheduled it is not always possible. (Female Manager R.6)

7.2.1.3 Barriers

Much more important then the supporting factors such as the precipitators, directors, and enablers just noted were the serious barriers and sources of resistance working against the project. According to Agocs et.al. (1992), resistance can result from misunderstandings due to a lack of information provided or existing attitudes, self- interest or personal politics within the status quo. Other factors producing forms of resistance in this case may include

economic, political, or leadership changes that produce a perceived lack of behavioural support and/or enactment of defensive routines (Argyris, 1990). In the following disucssion, I consider the relevance of misunderstanding, ingrained attitudes, lack of commitment, personal power and politics.

Both misunderstanding of the issues due to a lack of information and deeply ingrained attitudes erect barriers in this case. The communication strategy, although intending to reach all employees, obviously enjoyed limited success. Many remained unconvinced of the importance of the issues or failed to see them as relevant in their context. In one manager's words:

> I don't see that it [WF programs] is something you should even be asking about. These questions never come up when dealing with my people..don't have problems one way or another. (Female Manager R.11)

It was not clear where WF affected Public Service in terms of performance or effectiveness criteria. Many authors have used this rationale to justify WF programs (Galinsky et.el., 1992; Friedman, 1991; MacBride King, 1990). But the relationship between WF documented are too often vague and hard to prove conclusively, leaving many unconvinced.

Similarly in an organization with deeply ingrained attitudes, many at Public Service failed to understand, identify, or fully acknowledge the issues as their own. 'Family matters' at Public Service were considered to be private by many and did therefore not belong as a topic of discussion at work. In contrast, there were others who did acknowledge the issues, but were frustrated with the lack of commitment the organization displayed in dealing with WF. They indicated a discomfort with the lack of support and level of change occurring. They also pointed to a more fundamental issue around the value really given to

employees or human resources. Are employees costs or are they truly the most valuable of organizational resources? Some managers questioned this:

> We need to be more conscious that employees have outside lives....This is new to government...a way of the future and to help sustain individuals, their contribution to the organization and retention. The ability to be effective in the long haul is linked to this...its payback is way beyond the investment...they have more to give when they feel valued and must be a genuine value...but, is it espoused or is it being operationalized? (Female Manager R.12)

Employees were referred to as valuable resources on one hand and were taken advantage of and abused on the other. Ingrained attitudes regarding investment in employees did not appear to recognize human beings truly as being of value - they instead remained as costs to the organization, to be controlled. This discrepancy, in one manager's words, needed a "root cultural" level change. The lack of commitment and support as well as lack of issue ownership signaled an even deeper problem in some participants' eyes. Not only was WF change a non-organizational issue but, it was only "a women's issue." One manager feared that this ingrained attitude and overall lack of commitment threatened to ghettoize the whole project as a result.

> K_ does not think this [WF] is an issue. If male managers don't think this is their issue, that is itself an example of what men think women are responsible for. He'll work while we talk right now. You'll probably get all those [in the interviews] who believe it [WF] already and those who need it will select out and by his selecting out of your interview today, the one's who need it would...many don't recognize the need for a parent not just a mother. They divorce work and family...you are expected to do this. You may not need to pull someone away for a half day...I just hope this all is not only seen as a women's issue. When that happens, we are ghettoized. (Female Manager R.8)

Not only were individuals worried that the WF project was ghettoized as a women's issue; they saw it as a waste of time. Striking were comments directly reflecting a bias against women and their legitimate role as workers in the organization. "Women's place" and how it was defined and thought of is deeply ingrained in many men's and women's minds. Women's roles in the workplace most often reflect their "traditional roles thought of as wife, mother, daughter ". In this organization, some managers actually described women

as lacking ambition, working only for extra money and having no incentive to progress in career-oriented roles. This was not only an embedded bias at Public Service generally, but a clearly stated position of discrimination in Division D in particular. The Director of Division D was quite willing to provide his position on the subject:

> Here the girls come in and work their way up from the bottom. They have restrictions...they are not mobile, they have kids and are not mobile like men...if they are married its [salary] for a trip, if they are good workers they want to be left alone, don't want to get ahead...some women have been here for 100 years, some due to divorce...90% aren't going no where...they don't want to, it's comfortable here...because women are better at picky stuff, they work better...I have to stay around the women so they don't fight...their major problem is cramming into an elevator and busses....you can take their issues apart. (Male Director R. 13)

In this Director's mind, women were working for "pin money". They were not serious employees. His sexist bias was blatant and he did not appear to consider sexism to be a problem. What was more disturbing was that I found many of his female managers repeating his sentiments about their female clerical employees. The female managers appeared to have internalized the director's views about the women in the division. They did not appear to realize that he was likely also referring to them. I found the sexism in Division D to be profound. This is not to say that sexism was only present in Division D. It was in evidence throughout the department. The difference in other divisions was that the people involved appeared to realize that sexism was inappropriate or at least that one should not advertise it quite so blatantly. There was also a mix of people in the other divisions - their cultures less extreme.

Another barrier I encountered was the lack of management interest in change due to their own self-interests. Change is difficult and many managers asked in blunt terms during the interviews "why should I change, what's in this for me?" For example:

> There is frustration, why bother when there is no budget...must overcome the skepticism. Those without families say 'its not my issue, why should I go. Me in a management position...may be of interest but those at the support level may

> not see the broader picture and see what benefit there would be...it's a turf issue...some will help out but, others won't. Some will say it's not my problem, I don't have kids and others will say I didn't have it available when I had my kids, so you should tough it out...many of the programs are not applicable to management...they are weighted in favour of the less skilled employees. (Female Manager R. 14)

Others say, "it [WF program] only means more work for me, why should I do it?" Still others asked, "are you planning to provide 'how to manage' materials to go along with all of this?" Part of the justification for wanting to see personal benefit was an ongoing challenge with inadequate budgets and the ability to manage properly or adequately during change.

> We had a situation of abuse and didn't get support from HR. Staff went AWOL and said she was done and HR didn't support us. Where do you find the line? HR's job must be to help us find the line yet recognize the need to be flexible. The rule is a wavy line, but still a guideline. (Male Manager R. 15)

Others cited past abuses for their reluctance in addition to a perceived general lack of organizational support. For example:

> Flex was canceled...became unmanageable...they used 10 days of casual illness as their time off...they took flex to the extreme...they would give nothing back...we spent endless hours managing flex time...trying to address this now for cover off and coverage of supervisions...can't offer those on the phones flextime...after a warning where there still no change, we took it away. This caused a beef with a number of people...they had become accustomed to it...they would forget to key in [time clocks were being used in this part of the office], they didn't work half of the time...everyone should be treated equally and then as an exception...the master agreement doesn't provide a lot of specifics to fight the issue...key people were away when trying to schedule meetings...I'd want specific guidelines and structure...we need to ease problems and concerns of employees and have a payback..there must be some follow through. (Female Manager R.16)

Management self-interest appeared to convince many that the programs simply did not offer employees enough benefits to warrant the extra work involved. Personal self- interests coupled with a general lack of organizational commitment was enough to convince these managers to continue with the status quo. Still others pointed to the fractious HR division

which was implementing the change as reason enough not to act at all. Personal power and politics acted as an important barrier within the HR division of Public Service. Manager 4 of the HR division confided to me that:

> There are some politics to be aware of. ADM wants to do better then Director B and the Central Agency ADM [his counterpart]. There is competition there, but also between Director B and ADM. They have a problem with aggressive, strong women who overstep their position. They, especially ADM, see them [the aggressive women] as very threatening.

The political infighting between the ADM of HR and the Executive Director of the Central Personnel Agency apparently had a long history. There was constant reference during the course of this project to the controlling influence of the central agency. It appeared from the ADM's comments that the relationship between the two government departments was strained. Largely the strain appeared to rest on a personality conflict and struggle for control.

A lot of conflict existed internally within HR. The ADM's and Director B's relationship also reflected the struggle for control in their management styles. The insight provided by Manager 4 was intended to caution me by bringing to my attention to their ongoing battles. Similarly, the relationship encouraged between Director A and Director B, who both reported to the ADM, resembled something like sibling rivalry. The ADM appeared to encourage their disputes in the interest of "creativity." The ADM's need to control and exercise his positional and personal power was also manifest in his tactics during meetings to discuss the change initiative. He was often "still tied up" in more important meetings with his generally male colleagues, did not show up to meetings , or was late. On other occasions, he asked for revisions, but was unsure of exactly what he was interested in seeing. He simply noted that the strategy should be reformatted for executive committee in a concise form. The document must also provide answers for them. But we were to guess what these revisions might be. Then the ADM dismissed those attending the meeting, the

majority of whom were women, by asking questions, but not giving any time for an answer. Examples included, "Did you have anything else?" or "Did you understand all of that?" Once his closing question was uttered, he would simply get up and leave the room or ask us to leave. His style of management can be described as patriarchal, as the ADM's behaviour served to "gag" the women involved and dismiss them without giving their voices legitimacy (Cockburn, 1991). In one instance, I was complimented by ADM on my dress and then chastised for not smiling when delivering what I thought were important points for discussion. After I was told to "smile", Director B was asked to provide clarification on points made during my presentation. In this case Manager 4 was also silenced.

The masculine hegemony found at Public Service operates as a masculine sway exerted over men and women alike through the culture or force of ideas (Cockburn, 1991). Not only were the female members at the meeting unable to break free of the ADM's agenda, Director B was also unable to do so. His face became red and he showed frustration at being manipulated, but he still was unable to articulate or break away from the hegemony at work. I noted Director B's earlier comment regarding his discomfort with risk and the level of empowerment available to him. He was not willing or able to challenge the ADM's management style. To challenge the style of management and go beyond his comfort level would have been in direct contradiction to the underlying ideas surrounding his own role and management style. There was tremendous risk attached to a confrontation between what the management style supported and what the WF project required them to do for change to occur. No institutional supports existed to carry out such an act. Skepticism and cynicism were rampant. Director B was responsible to the ADM to carry out the project within narrowly specified parameters. Specifically, this meant to carry out the project without disrupting the status quo.

In addition to internal barriers, there were many powerful external barriers. The external environmental influences of the economy and the political climate are considered next.

7.2.2 Impact of Economic and Political Leadership on the Change Agenda

Further critical barriers highlighted by this case included the economic, political and leadership changes that occurred in the organization's environment (Argyris, 1990). Unfortunately, during the program, the provincial economic and political environment changed substantially. Due to the magnitude of that change, it is difficult to say whether the change project was resisted due to its content, attitudes surrounding its appropriateness, misunderstanding of the issues, or simply due to the uncertainty of the larger political and economic environment. Several managers spoke directly of these issues. Many thought change at this particular time was unrealistic:

> It 's harder to find support than it was 6 months ago because of pressure on the division to downsize...we are to do only the essentials...if the department had done a good job of educating the other areas...this would be seen as more essential but, they didn't...its a tough crowd...its slow and steady... (Male Manager R. 19)

Most thought that family-friendly programs were pushed to the background behind the greater concerns about job uncertainty. Many employees feared for their jobs. This was a fundamental concern to many as it was apparently more stressful to think of not having a job than the idea of balancing WF. As a result WF issues were pushed to the background. For example:

> A lot of issues come up because individuals are fearing for their jobs, because the Premier and the department leaders are talking of it [hiring freeze and fiscal restraint]. It automatically affects us...People are antsy...the whole staff meetings are to discuss hot topics and follow up to last manager's forum and VSA [Voluntary Severance Package] takes the cake, take the VSA with the advance if you can...we have to keep communications open, but, it's more me talking. I have few responses. I hope its because of the information, I don't know of the feedback behind my back. (Female Manager R. 18)

> People think twice now about saying they are going to quit. They now have a job. They don't complain about moving to other groups. Even permanents

> know...it's not so stable. There is less criticism and complaining because they have a job. __'s [the Premier's] downsizing comments make them afraid for their jobs, there is more concern. (Female Manager R. 20)
>
> People are more worried whether they'll have a job or not...we need to spend less time increasing stress and pressure on people...it's more difficult during these times but, still important...eliminating jobs doesn't do much for the quality of working life. (Male Manager R. 21)

This same point was noted by the representatives of the organization Human Resources. Public Service, like Human Resources, had to manage the public's perception politically as a state agency due to taxpayer's experiences of the recession. But, unlike Human Resources, Public Service did not have the support of their union to push employee interests in WF issues. Instead, at Public Service, employees had to cope with increasing job loads as a result of downsizing and were given little if any relief. Their overall well-being or WF issues were not considered important or sacrificed due to the greater interest in public perception. Little sympathy was expressed for overworked employees. One manager noted:

> The economy is in recession...the private sector is losing jobs and we have government employees with paid days off and not around to answer phones and provide service...the directive was to abolish flex and give the appearance to the private section of restraint...it's simply [flex] not defensible now. (Male Manager R.22)

Many also recognized the need to guard public perceptions during the downturn also. One manager was openly stressed and hostile to the changes and the WF program. She said:

> The economic condition has destroyed balance...I'm doing 2 1/2 jobs...still want to get home to spend time with my family...I don't think we have a vision for the future...we are just going through another reorganization...facing major staff loss due to VSA and continue through divesting over another 18 months or more...I'm cynical regarding your potential success.[with the WF project]..most divisions feel resistance, hostility...we're cutting people! why are we doing this [WF program]...it's a waste of time, money and effort. (Female Manger R. 7)

Other managers commented on how the economic and political climate had killed any chances the change project had. But even though virtually all management as well as non-management employees feared for their livelihood, some did focus on the long-term

consequences of ignoring WF issues. Many suggested that employees cannot continue to live under such stress over the long term. Eventually something has to give. In one manager's view, it was already affecting morale. She reported:

> The current climate only serves to bring the morale links into greater focus for me...the divestment of direct service climate has forced us to move this up on the list...in a different climate it may have a different priority...all environmental factors have an impact on morale...we are very concerned about our livelihood. (Female Manager R. 24)

To make things worse, employees were not given a lot of information regarding the direction of political and economic changes. They were silenced due to fear of job loss and the expectation to maintaining a positive public perception. The department had to carefully act within its dual role as state agency and employer. It appeared that employees were expected to bear the brunt of the budget cuts and organizational downsizing by doing extra work with little or no relief. Employees were expected to be thankful to have a job at all. Morale overall dropped to become quite dismal. One female manager reports:

> It couldn't get much lower...people are concerned with uncertainties...added downsizing...further reorganization and the same time talking about wellness...I'm not sure they want to survive another cut. ...I don't think the organization knows where it is going...there is not a lot of thought given to individuals, as people that have other important commitments in their lives...needed a plan first of all...target senior management...potentially middle management as the tool...more attempt for buy in and support ...most striking is open discussion. (Female Manager R. 25)

Although much rhetoric continued around employees as the most important resource, many did not believe the messages. A male manager reported:

> I have the feeling at this stage, the government is in general downsizing...employees get the feeling that the organization doesn't care anymore. (Male Manager R. 26)

Highlighted clearly for me at this stage in the project was the difference between real and espoused values within the organization (Argyris, 1991). Real values referred to those

values acted upon and reinforced whereas espoused values referred to those values spoken about but not supported in action. Although we heard over and over again that employees were the most important resource, clearly this was not the case. There was a general failure to recognize that the economic downturn and resultant restructuring had made WF more important than ever. A few managers did recognize this but, many did not. For example:

> Without the funding, you can't go much further...I'd like to see things improve...but, we are limited by bureaucracy and so we bend the rules. We've got to show an interest in staff well-being. Urgent things need to be taken into account. Employers need to be flexible in expectations of employees...if you want to keep the good people, you need to be more flexible. If people are the most important resources, you must start showing evidence and give them something back. (Male Manager R. 23)

Some managers became quiet during the period of economic and political uncertainty as they did not wish to be associated with the "wrong camp" when the new leadership was in place. The previous Minister had advocated these changes, but it was unclear what the impending changes and the new leadership would deliver. The focus shifted to deficit reduction with little if any attention to employees and the need to create family-friendly workplaces.

Some argued retrospectively that there was never any real strategic or unified plan in place to carry out the WF project. For example:

> I was aware, but there was no impact on the organization...we didn't walk the talk...no impact...it left individuals more frustrated as a result when they knew what life could be like [raised expectations]. (Female Manager R. 25)

The lack of a unified plan was in some individuals' view the greatest barrier to the project's success. It reflected a reluctance to deal with the deeply held attitudes all the way along and perhaps created and maintained all of the other barriers just described. Others agreed that there was no unified plan or fit with the organization's service requirements. They went on to say that the project was dealt with in a directive authoritarian manner which fit the management culture but not the goals of WF. For example:

> Its very directive, authoritarian, top down, military bureaucratic in approach... during flex, individuals needed freedom to balance their work and family lives... don't sit over their shoulder and have them punch a time clock...it's a very different philosophical approach...I don't think this organization has a clear direction for the future...we need the transition to be made clear. (Female Manager R. 11)

Others saw some good ideas but stated that without the unified approach, the project was doomed to failure. For example:

> We need to come up with an umbrella strategy and the different components vertical and horizontal...we must meet the needs along the way and understand the background and work with it. (Female Manager R. 27)

> "...there were great plans but no implementation...it didn't matter where it starts...it was put on the shelf and then we walked away." (Male Manager R. 17)

In sum, there were obviously some very serious barriers preventing change at Public Service. And yet, there were also supports in place, as noted above. The process of change, lack of change, and tensions produced are of great interest here, in terms of what happened to block success in so many ways. The precipitators for change launched the project, but could not sustain it. It's difficult to know if these people ever intended to sustain it. Although they seemed to me to be interested in doing so at the time. The directors and enablers were not strong enough to carry the change through to actively deinstitutionalize the existing non-family-friendly organizational structure and processes. What was happening at Public Service was instead first-order "tinkering" or limited minimal changes around the edges, leaving the organization as it was. Although the executive group supported the program in writing, reflecting their minister's wishes, there was no behavioural evidence of that commitment. WF was treated by managers all the way down the line as a "nice to have" or "good times" program, but not one that was crucial and therefore a legitimate pursuit when times got tough.

We already discussed the external intervening variables, such as the economy and political climate, which also worked to prevent meaningful action at Public Service. Now, it is important to push these external explanations to one side and look directly within the Public Service project at the process of change itself. In looking at the process of change, we can examine conflictual events and the confrontation of old and new interpretive schemes in the attempt.

Some elements of the old interpretive schemes did became somewhat discordant as a result of the WF programs and external social pressures. But we also saw many barriers erected. If we rely on Hinings and Greenwood's (1988) theory of change, we see a case of unresolved excursion in archetypal terms. Minimal change was achieved to work schedules, there was no evidence of any change to interpretive schemes. We could say that directors and enablers of change were not powerful enough at Public Service to create second-order change. The costs of conforming appeared greater than those of not conforming. WF was too costly in commitment of time, cover-off and individual managers' comfort levels. But exactly how the old interpretive scheme did or did not undergo change is left unspecified by this perspective. We therefore need to focus directly on the underlying interpretive schemes most evident during the flexible work schedule conflict at Public Service to better understand the interpretive schemes being protected. With the next author, Bartunek (1984), I look directly at how change did or did not take place.

7.2.3 The Dialectic between Old and New Interpretive Schemes

Bartunek (1984), contrasts first- and second-order change and gets us closer to that which blocks and supports change to underlying interpretive schemes. This is a similar concept to what Cockburn (1991) describes as the short- and long-agenda respectively. Bartenuk provides a way to look at the relationship between interpretive schemes and structure,

especially between changing interpretive schemes and restructuring. Here we examine the processes during which interpretive schemes change and the means through which such changes are related to restructuring. Bartunek notes that it is second-order transformative change that causes paradigms to reframe and norms and world views to change which is most likely to affect cultural forms. First-order change, on the other hand, is incremental and much more gradual. With this perspective in mind, we look again at the transition at Public Service from the non-family-friendly state to a family-friendly one. I now focus on the dialectic or confrontation that occurred over flexible work schedules between old and new interpretive schemes. I am referring here to the turf war conflict over implementing flextime as well as the introduction of attendance management as an example of a contradiction between old and new interpretive schemes.

When we introduced flexible schedules in HR, the perceived domain or property of Director A's group, our efforts were perceived as directly confrontational. A struggle between Director A's "old guard" rule enforcers and our PAR group developed into a "turf war" between the two units. One of the training staff confided:

> We have a fight with ER right now with this program [attendance management]. We want to take a look at the environment and see what is going on in the environment first. There's an on-going battle with the attendance management program. Its a turf battle. We're not told a lot. They (HRP) want to sit in and play a role in our courses...master agreement, supervision and discipline and we need to get the point across that a board of 3 shouldn't train a class of 6...they want to take over some of our courses entirely. (Female Training Consultant)

Director B and Director A held different conceptions of flexible work schedules. However, it was not the schedule that was of issue, but rather which division owned the right to make changes to work schedules. Work schedules in this organization were extremely rule-oriented and rigid in application. They very much reflected the overall management approach at Public Service. The work schedules had recently become even more rigid due to situations of perceived abuse. Like Director A, Director B also supported the need for

management controls around attendance due to past abuses. He said that, "we need to create a form of flextime that managers can manage and not be managed by it."

But, where Director B did not agree with Director A was on the need to control or manage attendance. He thought it presented contradictory messages and pressed people into coming to work sick. He found the alternative suggested was excessively punitive and controlling. Director B was not convinced that the amount of abuse in Public Service warranted such a program. He also was clear in his vision about how management had to develop and change to keep pace with changing employee needs and move toward more strategic HRM. He often spoke of new ways to manage and how he thought the organization would be structured in the future. His philosophy was reflected in his comments around the issues of work hours and attendance. He said that:

> attendance management is a very punitive program...people take offense to it...they are talking about the issues of my personal value system...the comments from the union as well [the union he thought, supported his personal values]...it [attendance management] was trying to get employees to come to work sick! The question is how many [employees] actually abused [flextime] and maybe those who developed it [people who developed the attendance management program - he winced when he said this and looked disgusted] were the incorrect ones...the old management style and attendance, performance...their [controlling style managers - he was referring to his HRP colleagues directly at this point and his face was a bit pink] days are numbered...[he was referring to the traditional personnel rule oriented jobs like classification, recruitment] all becoming redundant.

Director A expressed his concern over any type of formal flextime program. He blamed employees using flextime for creating an unhealthy work environment at Public Service and implied that users of flextime were untrustworthy because they wanted to spend more time away from the organization. He recalled that:

> Flextime [what was previously used was a form of core hours with the ability to accumulate time for one day off per month and daily flexibility around the core hours] was a disaster...it structures time...they [employees] hoard their time and get to be away from us for a day a month...we want people who want to be here...we want to be able to trust them to make decisions...our experience with flextime is that those that have it contribute to an unhealthy environment...people

> become unsupervised, poor performing, they use it to become worse...others use it to run away from the organization...it disorganizes...the supervisor is not in control of the program...they [the supervisors] are angry...it becomes an us versus they.

It did not seem to occur to Director A that blaming employees for an unhealthy work environment was like blaming the victim. Director A's management team also shared the director's sentiment on the flextime project. As the quotation from one of his managers below illustrates, the provision of flexibility is assumed to be a management prerogative. Managers can provide flexibility to employees whom they deem in need of it. Formal flextime is considered too restrictive in this manager's view, because it takes control away from the manager. Manager 3 stated that:

> I do believe in flexible hours but, not flextime...it's too restrictive...those that don't need flex hours get caught up in it...it diminishes the purpose and value of it...they lose sight of what its there for...the supervisors don't know how to manage it...it may vary from one to one and a half hours...I don't know how to manage it.

It appeared that because of the difficulty in controlling employees with more flexible hours, the HRP division rejected flexible working hours. It did not appear to concern Director A's group that the issue of control itself was problematic. They appeared to hold a basic assumption of human nature in a form of Theory X that employees need to be watched and cannot be trusted as they will do everything possible to get out of work (McGregor, 1960). As I reflect, it is not surprising that the rule keepers might hold such a view, in contrast to those interested in human development holding the opposing assumptions around human nature. And yet, both branches were housed in the Human Resources division, the division charged with the responsibility of taking care of and developing the organization's "most valuable asset" and becoming a strategic organizational partner.

The turf war that ensued over whose job it was to implement flexible work hours was a source of confusion for other departmental managers. One internal HR division manager, Manager 6, commented on the feedback he had received about the inconsistencies and

contradictions surrounding the flexible work schedules project and the attendance management. He thought that the two sets of messages were not necessarily at odds with one another but became contradictory in presentation. In fact, he thought the programs could be reconciled and actually presented as a package. But he suggested that Director A and Director B must get together and quickly present a unified program around working schedules to counteract the increasing confusion in the department. Manager 6 states:

> On the one hand flex...the other hand controlling absenteeism...it allows the managers to deal with problem attendees...but, I don't know if it had more impact than that...our department holds attendance as a real concern. The introduction of that program [attendance management] was a way to educate more supervisors and managers about what can be done and hopefully address the problem areas. It shouldn't be incompatible...the combination of the two could work. It maybe made managers think about attendance more to do their jobs better. The combination of training was useful to help keep the attendance program in balance...But, it's not the first cure to the problem...we need to be more careful... flex can be used to prevent the problem in the first place.

Manager 6's suggestion was supported by others in the department but ignored by Directors A and B. Instead, Public Service managers continued to receive the competing messages. It appeared to the larger management group of the department that the two rival arms of the HR division which were supposedly responsible for implementing the change project, were internally divided. The right hand and the left hand in this case were perceived to be working in opposing and contradictory directions. This internal political conflict within HR and the resultant "turf war" continued to work against the change project. For those who supported the flexible work schedule and WF project overall, the divisional conflict was a source of confusion. These individuals sought clarification. Some divisional managers pointed at the philosophical inconsistencies and to the shift in direction that was occurring:

> That aspect puzzled me...the work and family project was driven by the women's committee and yet the other reflected more general issues...the project seemed to have evolved and become different from what was originally intended...were some inconsistent directions...pushing in opposite directions. (Male Manager R.21)

Others stated that the new program appeared to be looking for problems rather than providing flexibility to enable employees autonomy to find their own solutions:

> I didn't draw the linkage there...it almost seemed to look more at attendance records to find problems...not linked to work and family support concerns...never that kind of linkage...could have...part of training or discussion could have considered contributing factors. (Male Manager R. 26)

Many commented on the punitive tone of the attendance management program and confusion it was generating. These managers once again called for change in the department's management philosophy. For example:

> We need some fundamental changes to management first. For example the absentee program. Why is it so punitive? The sick are put down and we have to talk and understand and come to a mutual understanding. I worry about too many rules and structures and that old control attitude. We have enough rules to deal with slackers, but we don't need to treat everyone the same way with a lack of trust...Yes, I break the rules and I don't keep track of my people...this is a waste of time and effort. (Male Manager R. 5)

Beyond the supporters of the WF programs were the critics. The confusion appeared almost comforting to this group. These managers saw the division as positive proof of a faulty program and a less then competent HR division. The interpretation that emerged was if HR did not know what it was doing, then it was legitimate for these managers to continue as they were. They used the confusion as a justification for their inactivity, a reprieve.

> Its a waste of time. I don't know why this information was produced...Nothing said...I filed it. [he looked to the garbage when he said this] ...its a waste of time. (Male Manager R. 23)

Then there were others predominantly from Division D who went beyond inactivity and described the merit of returning to a more traditional punitive approach. Mangers from Division D appeared to be congratulating the efforts of Director A's rule driven faction. For example:

> There is some fit but, not a very good fit...some have bad attendance problems...I'm dealing with the issues now with ER and it fits with the work family issues...the issues are not connected...the performance management system is isolated now..where's our team on this...its piecemeal, the boundaries are unclear...employees must know these...I can't work with employees to ask

> why they are sick or suggest another doctor because of union disputes...we must break down the barriers...where they let you step over boundaries then you have a win/win situation. (Female Manager R. 16)

But the women managers in Division D were also strangely speaking in unison. When I looked at their comments and the comments of their Director, there was an uncanny similarity. It was as though the female managers in Division D, although congratulating Director A and his group were doing so with exactly the same voice. I looked to other divisions to see if this was a shared phenomenon. It was not, although I did find other predominantly male supporters of Director A's position in other divisions. A common perception appeared to exist among male management staff that women believed their sick benefits to work as additional vacation time. Their was little recognition that if an employee's child was sick, she was only entitled to minimum time off. They saw many taking their own sick days to look after family members even though they themselves were not sick. This was viewed as an illegitimate use of sick time. What's more, it was described by many as an abuse. Women it seemed were assumed to take sick leave as extra vacation. Attendance management was to give manager's back the power to deal with this problem. For example:

> The biggest plus was outlining concisely what the employer can expect of attendance and rationale for not being there and also letting the employee know that 10 sick days are not additional holidays. (Male Manager R. 17)

In general, imposing flexible work schedules to the established structured work week was not embraced within Public Service. Many did not wish to expend the effort without a promised pay off either in doing their job better or being politically within the "in group." Even those committed to the idea of flexibility became unsure of what to do because of the confusion produced by the rival attendance management program. If HR was itself unclear on what they were doing, as demonstrated by two branches introducing contradictory programs, then why should they, the divisional managers, take the risky step? Supportive

managers were surprised to see the attendance management program come in on the heels of our efforts to implement flexible work schedules.

> I was surprised to see the attendance management thing come out...to save money?...but taking the disciplinary approach would not do it...it doesn't mesh with the work and family approach at all...doing more with less calls for more commitment, we don't need these mixed messages. I question the timing...we seem to need something for __[ADM] to see big savings like attendance management but, with a different message regarding the value of employees. (Female Manager R. 11)

Many found the messages in the two programs contradictory as they tried to make the connections:

> I went to a meeting last Friday on absenteeism management. It was interesting to try and balance the two, take responsibility, knowing priorities and there seems to be a lag between the absentee programs and the work and family programs to call them in and support them [employees]. The success depends on the end result of training. (Female Manager R. 31)

Others suggested with a puzzled look, that management training would be needed to enable successful implementation of the contradictory programs. They were being kind. More then training was needed. What we witnessed with the turf war was a struggle between competing management philosophies and a basic difference in how the HR Division's Directors viewed human beings. Are employees a valuable resource or are they expendable and a cost? Director B thought that the former was true and that for success in the WF program we needed to see evidence of that. He stated:

> There was no political will to make the changes that were required...managing human resources in the same discipline...they maintain fiscal and capital resources...put in on a balance sheet...HR normally is seen as a cost, we are looking for organizations to see employees as an investment not a cost.

The struggle between the old and new interpretive schemes both family-friendly and non-family-friendly was clear. We could never seem to get clarity surrounding the change agenda, however. Although we certainly pushed the WF project due to changing social values, the organizational justification was presented on the basis of improved

performance. This was extremely difficult to convince the skeptics of. We were also constrained by the initiative and power of the supporters of the project to push the change. Director B was "uncomfortable" with how far he could go to achieve that end. Some support certainly did exist informally among department managers. But, the level of support was not strong enough to unfreeze the "old values" associated with a lack of family-friendliness at that point of history. We did not see a synthesis of the old non-friendly and new family-friendly interpretive schemes in this case. The new ideas, although supported by some, were not strong enough to take hold. In fact, due to the politically divided nature of the HR division, the more traditional status quo ideas resurfaced and remained intact. The internal politics in this case coupled with the changes in the external environment worked to retard the change. As I have noted, existing leadership, too, was in flux. The previous Minister left her political office after losing the leadership race to become Premier. The bureaucratic leadership from Deputy Minister down appeared to either ignore or tolerate the change initiative at a minimal level while they waited for their new direction.

The embedded bias separating WF issues into public and private spheres continued to exist. Knowledge of WF issues was not thoroughly appreciated or accepted, nor did it create a force for change powerful enough to upset the institutionalized separation of WF. Even where Director B supported the changes and project generally, we also noticed his ongoing inability to separate from the prevailing masculine hegemony at work. This type of conflict was considered natural when two such opposing views exist (Bartunek, 1991). When Director B and the PAR team crossed over into what Director A thought of as his turf, it appeared to threaten and provoke him and his branch. The introduction of the attendance management program worked as a manifestation of their desire to reaffirm the status quo. This situation may have been part of the restructuring process with the two Directors and their staff acting upon an evolving understanding. But more likely their conflict worked to

create a split in the division, and as a result blocked even minimal structural change as a result. To the rest of the department, HR's activities signaled disorganization and lack of commitment to the project and thus worked against the likelihood of change. WF issues and the idea of a family-friendly organization remained safely outside of the organization's hegemonic boundaries. It may have appeared to some on the outside such as other departments and the general public that a program for change was in place, but internally, Public Service employees knew that nothing meaningful had changed. The confrontation, although ostensibly producing the kind of threat which might precipitate a change, did not. Stronger were the politics of the defenders of the status quo.

As shown throughout this discussion of supports and barriers, the PAR project team was inundated with political, managerial, and attitudinal factors. The supports in place, both from executive management's written support and across management and non-management employees in the organization were clearly not strong enough to produce second-order change and successfully combat the inertia and active resistance that arose. The change agenda was confused, its importance not clear to anyone.

The theories used thus far show how second-order change to structures and interpretive schemes can occur. But the theories cannot fully accommodate WF issues as a legitimate precipitator for change in this public sector organization. Arguments for change, or for not changing, rely on the organization's economic performance. But we have seen that WF programs are not only about economic performance. Other reasons for change involve the social welfare of organizational members. As I noted above, the social and economic reasons supporting WF value change in this case remained difficult to reconcile. A perspective that can deal with changing social values also as a distinct category is needed. Using Oliver's (1992) deinstitutionalization theory, I argue next that we can supplement the theories of Hinings and Greenwood (1988), and Bartunek (1987). With

deinstitutionalization theory that allows for functional, political and social factors, I show how second-order change to interpretive schemes is necessary to theorize about WF change at Public Service.

7.2.4 Failure - Organizational Performance and Effectiveness as Appropriate Impetus for Change

Inherent problems in producing change at Public Service are found in the barriers encountered. However, it is the underlying assumption around the separation of WF that produced and manifested all the barriers most important here. What we have from many of the comments above is the need to justify the WF change in an acceptable way. "Acceptable way" is translated to a statement of imposed organizational effectiveness. Many existing studies and organizational programs on WF integration programs attempt to use organizational performance criteria to talk about WF success. But this evidence is often vague and cannot prove that WF programs do make a difference to the organization's effectiveness when that effectiveness is inevitably and exclusively cast only in economic terms. At Public Service, we found the supporters of the program clearly relied on such a rationale and evidence using the language of organizational effectiveness to push toward the WF change goal and draw back from it when resources tightened up. A problem and related to the dilemma, is the fact that the theories of change used also contain this biased assumption. It is assumed that the impetus for organizational change is related to organizational effectiveness or performance defined in economic terms. What this essentially did for the WF project at Public Service was block it from challenging existing ideology regarding the separation of WF, public and private spheres of activities, and male and female roles.

Because we need to question that very separation of WF, we cannot rely solely on the theories used thus far. Hinings and Greenwood and Bartunek have been useful in showing

the difficulties of creating change from non-family-friendly to family friendly but they cannot get us beyond first -order change or the fundamental assumptions around WF in this case.

To get to second-order change, we need instead to challenge the fundamental taken-for-granted assumptions beneath managerial consciousness regarding both the appropriate impetus for change and importance of WF integration. In doing so, we must bring in social values as an equally important impetus for change in this case and then move to examine the likelihood of second-order change. What we found in the Royal Bank and Bank of Montreal examples above was a movement toward combining organizational effectiveness in economic terms and social values as twin rationales for change. I turn now to deinstitutionalization theory as a way to fully incorporate social issues in partnership with organizational performance as a twin rationale for the WF project at Public Service.

7.3 PUBLIC SERVICE'S REQUIREMENT FOR SECOND ORDER CHANGE

7.3.1 Using Deinstitutionalization to Challenge Taken-for-Granted Assumptions

Oliver's (1992) political, functional, and social factors are used to re-examine the barriers found at Public Service. I address the second research question: Could Public Service have still produced second-order WF change regardless of the institutionalized barriers? How?

With Oliver (1992), we can make further sense of the limited successes and barriers experienced at Public Service. From a practical perspective we can use what we have learned from Public Service and the theoretical framework in subsequent attempts to plan more carefully. I then move in specifically with deinstitutionalization theory that provides us with the tools to understand the difficulties in producing second-order change to

underlying interpretive schemes. Oliver points to a confrontational approach as one way to create deinstitutionalization. I doubt that we could have produced success at Public Service through a confrontational approach given the strength of the status quo. Still, change may have been produced in this manner if top-level support was in place. Confrontation results when one package of schemes and associated structures is engaged in supplanting another, more entrenched set. It represents a collision of cultures through direct political action. But as shown at Public Service, non-productive divisiveness was the result of confrontation.

A better approach for Public Service might have been to focus on and use sources of legitimation and institutional reproduction to work against the established order of the non-family-friendly organization. This means that change could also have been accomplished in a less confrontational way by deliberately undermining or eroding existing interpretive schemes. With Oliver (1992) we can examine the difficulty in producing second-order change in this case and the factors that determine the likelihood that institutional behaviours will be vulnerable to erosion or rejection.

Oliver (1992) notes that political, functional and social mechanisms exist internally and externally to the organization. The forces of entropy (natural tendency to devolve to a lesser state) and inertia (tendency of object to continue to exist unaffected by change) act to accelerate and/or defer change on the organization. Political, functional, and social mechanisms, entropy and inertia all act as pressures that determine whether or not an institutionalized practice or set of beliefs will be changed. Change can occur through dissipation, which is a gradual deterioration in the acceptance and use of a particular practice or through rejection, which is a more direct assault on an established practice.

Internal political factors are first evident with the unsupported interests of the Minister in WF which conflicted with the status quo. This is a critical prior factor as it to some extent caused a deterioration in consensus, a disruption in unanimity of agreement among members on the value of non-family-friendly practices. This could occur not only out of crisis, as is more typical in management theory but also when stakeholders without power have lost interest in sustaining a practice that conflicts with their interests, agendas, or beliefs. To deinstitutionalize is a political response to changing power distributions and political dissensus. Perhaps cognizant of the dissensus at the lower levels of the organization, there were also those against the change. Some argued that it was important not to raise unrealistic expectations. For example:

> I wouldn't want to send staff off on a program to come back with false hopes. I would hate to fill them up with false hope... (Female Manager R. 31)

Further, there was skepticism regarding the sustainability and follow-through of the program, again related to the level of commitment. Skepticism was related to whether or not the PAR team would implement inappropriate programs, given the organization's operational requirements, history, readiness etc. These ideas of sustainability, follow-through and operational issues bring to mind Oliver's functional category. As was noted by Hinings and Greenwood (1988) above, concerns about functional or operational/organizational requirements were numerous. Managers commented:

> But, when will this happen...there has been a real failure on follow through. (Male Manager R. 5)

> If it [these programs] leads to substantial change, then all of this is great, if it is window dressing, then it's a waste of time. There's nothing worse than asking for their opinions and then doing what you want anyway...it's a good idea to ask, but must follow through. (Female Manager R. 10)

I named the problem inherent in the political and functional approaches above as a failure to regard changing social values as a legitimate impetus for change. Functional factors are

defined by Oliver in terms of technical, instrumental, or economic considerations. Rules and procedures that become incompatible with effectiveness or efficiency may be questioned. Again a structural, rule-like example is found with the time schedules. Anything to increase an organization's technical specificity and reduce ambiguity of processes and outputs provides fertile ground for deinstitutionalization. Dissipation or rejection can occur through a heightened competition for scarce resources. We have already noted the confrontation and resultant conflict over the management of attendance and flexible work schedules above. We return now to flexible work schedules here to illustrate functional change to an institutionalized organizational structure.

The rigidity of the existing work schedules was thought by many as a problem that limited employees' effectiveness in many cases. We saw that Director B thought that employees could use flexible schedules to better arrange their time for optimum performance. Where flexible schedules did not exist at all, there was no intention to change. There was similarly no intention of providing even informal support, which would have been particularly useful for Division D employees. As I noted earlier, many managers in Division D held strong views regarding the extent to which flexible work schedules invited abuse. One manager reported:

> My problem is how to address absenteeism..my problems are from individuals who abuse and do so every year. Not that they have issues about work and family life, they are just genuine abusers . We acquired one...in 5 years she missed 2 years...she hasn't missed a day here yet. We have 2 probably who will go away in summer. One who reminded me of a neck problem. ..they think the extra 10 days per year is a right rather than a benefit... (Female Manager R. 20)

This division provided the mainstay of support enjoyed by Director A and allowed its eventual success in reasserting the status quo management orientation. In general, they thought attendance management was "a good idea because there's not a lot you can do with them."

As I have also documented above, underneath this reluctance and/or opposition, there was a clear tendency toward a controlling management orientation. For example:

> The public service component....set hours....to change this creates a problem for the public...I'm against real flex hours unless I get additional staff and dollars. Why fix something that's not broken...management needs to stay in control...how much do you give away....still need to make sure the job is done. (Male Manager R. 34)

Because of previous difficulties, even Director, who believed in the need for added flexibility, noted many times that "we need to be careful in planning and implementing due to past abuses. Management wants a program that they can manage and not be managed by." As I commented above, the underlying assumption about the "need to manage or control attendance" for optimal operational performance, was not in itself questioned. For example:

> It's [flex] more difficult with the clerical staff...it's more difficult if the secretary is not there, things fall apart more quickly...where ever possible they get flexibility as well...it's difficult with the diverse departments dealings with the public...we need an overall philosophy and managers need to manage for results in this environment. (Male Manager R. 32)

> Personally, I'm split on it [flex]. I believe there are advantages, but also know from management and keeping up with work that its difficult to schedule meetings...We have an incredibly busy place due to change in focus from institution to home care...there are major changes taking place...we are prioritizing all of the time...but, there is much overtime...I would not want to guess the overtime...there's a lot happening...it's hard to get individuals together. We are tied into how to manage in an environment where we have to do more with less. (Female Manager R. 33)

> You look at different units and see what their requirements are...there are certain demands and core hours...data entry staff are a high productivity unit...the number of employees off would have an effect on the production schedule...with clerical and reception areas, we require cover-off and all would have to be taken into account. (Male Manager R. 9)

Keeping track of attendance was not fully thought of as unnecessary. Clearly there were strong service reasons to want all staff to put in their hours. Some busy managers claimed that more predictable hours made scheduling issues much easier. But part of the paradigm

shift required of management philosophy in dealing with WF issues and specifically with flexible work schedules is that managers trust employees to take control of their lives through flexibility offered and responsibly ensure that the required work and service hours were covered. Managers do not necessarily have to become timekeepers to provide workplace flexibility. One manager mentioned the need for a time clock if flexible programs were to be re-implemented. He simply did not have time to monitor and manage several different employee work schedules. What this reluctance also seemed to indicate is the greater controls needed at the lower levels of the organization. Clerical employees in particular were subject to strict organizational controls, the service hours were set, the documents had to be completed and filed in certain ways, the telephones had to be answered etc. Time at the lower levels of this organization was very rigid and the addition of flexibility was a huge leap for some managers to grasp.

Again related to the controls in place, managers pointed to the need for organizational supports to do get around some of the controls, if they were to implement flexible work schedules. But they did not find such supports within our change project. Indicated, too through these comments, was a more fundamental need for sound management practices.

> Some of this strikes me as just good management. If you value people and focus on results and not process and environment..you'll be accommodating and work out the arrangements. Stick to operations and yet make it a good place for people to work. (Male Manager R. 21)

> I thought the recommendations were motherhood. All they do is reinforce the principles of good management. No umph behind it, no guidance or any real analysis. I see nothing year after year. There are lots who are not satisfied and don't get it....there is no monitoring regarding compliance of managers or management technique, principles...we need to reinforce good management. (Female Manager R. 14)

Even in the face of much opposition, some support for implementation of work schedule flexibility remained. Within the restrictive operational requirements we saw that some

flexibility was possible and was provided to employees informally. The following comment illustrated that need:

> [flex] is needed here...sometimes managers...especially those away from the front line, think it can't work. It's a real issue being so far away, they can't identify with the issues of the problems...they say quit being sympathetic and get the job done...Flextime is not possible in a lot of areas due to the 24 hour operation. But, flexibility exists within this...I give them days off and sometimes both partners are working for the same individuals...this is especially difficult for vacations and stat holidays. They have Fridays off and love it, but they put in many extra hours...I must keep the operation going...flexibility is available if trading off or leaving a bit early, but that throws off the shifts..only occasionally allow it ..otherwise totally unmanageable due to the chaos...we are dealing with people, not paper...the patient needs are driving the needs mandate...it all evolves around that. (Female Manager R. 35)

The form flexibility took was varied and included training opportunities and empowerment to create informal arrangements. But where support for flexibility did exist, there was still a perception that additional skill and resources were needed to deal with situations of abuse. HR Manager 5 stated:

> So much is needed in management development. A bunch of barriers, time, lack of organizational support to continue developing, enhancing a perspective. Even me, I believe intrinsically in this, but if given a choice in WF and getting staff motivated, I would choose the latter...I don't want to become a babysitter...I would like some basis of skills for managing flex time...How can we keep it fair and equitable...how can we set up a consistent system and get the work done...how do we deal with the abusers who will be there no matter what you do? I have to deal with and incorporate skeptics, learn to converse in their language and go to where they are, identify them and move them forward.

What appeared to take precedence over a balanced approach was the addition of the suggested attendance management program reinforcing a more traditional, controlling approach. The resultant minor flexibility offered in combination with managing attendance was more punitive than facilitative, less flexible and more open to managerial discretion and interpretation.

From the preceding comments and discussion, using the theories of Hinings and Greenwood (1988), Bartunek (1987) and Oliver (1992), we can see how deeply entrenched functional and political factors are in management's attitudes. It is also clear that this level of Oliver's focus is somewhat repetitive and does not add much to our discussion beyond that already offered by Hinings and Greenwood and Bartunek. The confrontational approach of changing work schedule structure and implementing programs for awareness raising only served to rile the defenders of the status quo, instead of producing deinstitutionalization toward the desired change. Two other organizations mentioned earlier, the Royal Bank and Bank of Montreal, appeared more able to work toward that end. They privileged functional and political factors in combination with a recognition of changing social values. It is to the topic of changing social values that we now specifically turn.

7.3.2 Oliver's Social Pressures

I now draw on Oliver's (1992) social pressures category, in combination with the previous descriptions of how change takes place, to develop a social pressures framework. I use this framework as a means of understanding WF change in general and more specifically as a way to allow the ability to theorize about second-order change particular to this case. With deinstitutionalization, we can see how change to prevailing interpretive schemes can evolve in a more non-confrontational manner and yet, still produce second-order change. This means we can work toward deinstitutionalization even though contrary political and functional factors are at work. Social fragmentation includes increases in workforce diversity, weakening socialization mechanisms, and culturally disparate inter-organizational relations. Structural disaggregation works through diversification, or structural differentiation. Social fragmentation and structural disaggregation, when deliberately put in place, can weaken homogeneity and the coherence of the status quo non-friendly interpretive schemes, thus providing an opening for these forces which actively support the

alternative family-friendly view. Recall examples of the Bank of Montreal and Royal Bank in Chapter 6 as an illustration of this tactic. At Public Service, the alternative view was presented as a family-friendly organization.

The organization considers a third set of pressures in the external environment specifically, law, societal values or expectations. Activities like rewriting and rethinking organization theory to include gender issues (Calas and Smircich, 1990) and thinking about whole individuals within whole organizations (Friedlander, 1994), fuel social pressure in this case and act to fragment and disaggregate. Over time, the three sets of social pressures may lead to an erosion of institutionalized beliefs about traditional WF divisions. The assumption is that increasingly, institutional norms and activities will be eroded by those for whom the non-family-friendly practices are not so taken-for-granted.

This internal diversity of experience and expectations, coupled with external political and societal forces to conform to public demands about WF issues, ideally will pressure the organization to discourage or prohibit non-family-friendly practices. The point of deinstitutionalization is that family-friendly practices cannot 'take hold' until the non-family-friendly structures and practices are deinstitutionalized. This is in contrast to Hinings and Greenwood's "schizoid" form and Bartunek's dialectic approach where competing values are, to a greater or lesser degree, co-existent for some period of time. Efforts at Public Service, were in a sense like trying to plant seeds in infertile ground. Social fragmentation, structural disaggregation, and external social pressures all affect organization members and may result in shared, revised definitions of social reality and common understandings about acceptable and meaningful behaviour. In this case, some individuals did appear to recognize the importance of WF issues and bent to the social pressures in support of change. For example:

> It's a starting point for discussion and awareness and opening the floor to discuss ways of dealing with the issues. Once we can discuss it, we can bring it out and feel that we can bring it out without repercussions. I gave a senior analyst a big project, he was hesitant, I insisted...he then came and spoke to me and told me that as a result of the project, his marriage would probably be over. He was beginning to repair his marriage but, the new project would have sent him over the edge. It's very difficult to come forward and you have to have a great amount of trust to be able to come forward and discuss these things. All kinds of examples, there was a miscarriage, a divorce. Some factors shouldn't impact the work in the long term, but in the short term if we can take the pressure off and get a better employee in the long term... (Male Manager R. 9)

> We have administrative support on flex time...I think it is very good...it gives people some control, choices. They can take a day off once a month...provided there is adequate coverage...no complaints, it's an honour system...I'm prepared to contribute in any way I can and I feel happy and comfortable that I can contribute. (Female Manager R. 24)

But, as I have also noted at length above, the predominant sentiment at Public Service was reluctance to include WF as a mainstream precipitator for change. Those who allowed for WF were unusual. For example:

> Our culture...doesn't allow for people to think very much about this [WF] in concrete terms...real people in pressures...What I told them was different, be sure to take your vacation, you are expected to take time off. In __, you are not expected to take vacation unless your work is cleared away. You are expected to work all of the time. It's not just public health, it is what I see all around me...I don't know if it is among the successful...you work 18 hours a day if that's what it takes to get the job done....it's not changing...my sense is that everyone works ridiculous hours...after a while you wonder if you can be a good employee if you don't work 18 hours a day. (Female Director R. 33)

In fact, there was a strong opinion that WF was "only a women's issue," a non-serious employees' issue or an unimportant social issue because it was not about economics or the organization's performance, effectiveness or control. Continued interpretive schemes privileged "ideal workers," premised on the separation of WF, who would continue to put work ahead of family and their own needs, often even at great personal cost. For example:

> When it's seen as a women's issue, it is ghettoized. I don't know how we can get around this. ..It can't be a woman's issue or men will see it as an advantage given. Sometimes culture is harder on the women so we won't come to things that are marked female, as you go up the hierarchy, women become more like men in the higher groups. I don't want to talk anymore, I want to see concrete

> action NOW. I don't want to talk about it anymore because nothing is happening! (Female Manager R. 8)

I have shown the basic assumptions separating WF to be a problem. I have also noted that to successfully achieve the family-friendly archetype, the WF change agenda had to be perceived as a legitimate social issue worthy of change and worthy of being handled in a committed and deliberate manner. That was required at a most basic level. Socially-produced WF change issues are legitimate organizational concerns, but even among WF supporters, many continued to frame the case for such change exclusively in terms of bottom-line arguments. It appeared that many worried about organizational performance and thought it would suffer if social issues were used as an impetus for change without giving organizational performance primacy. But as we saw in Chapter 6, both Family Services and the Body Shop functioned very well even while allowing social values to dictate their cultures and strategic organizational goals.

As is the case with many organizations built on the premise of the ideal worker and the separation of public and private spheres of activity, the non-family-friendly structures and underlying interpretive schemes at Public Service did not deinstitutionalize. Political, functional, and social factors all worked against the second-order change needed to move the organization to the new family-friendly state in this case. It is interesting that the legitimacy of WF issues is problematic in so many organizations and, more generally, in organization theory itself. But, in the face of increasing social pressures, taken-for-granted institutionalized norms regarding WF and well-being are increasingly being held up for scrutiny. Oliver would argue that erosion of such institutionalized norms and activities would naturally occur as they are more often questioned. This has not yet happened at Public Service, however. With the onslaught of economic and political changes, the WF program was pushed back, bringing the more pressing concerns of downsizing, budget-cutting, rationalizing of services and need for further controls to the fore. The

organization's executives did not appear to notice the discrepancy between their espoused and real values and behaviours. Nor did they recognize that during such large-scale economic changes, employee well-being becomes an even more critical organizational concern if the goal is optimum performance. They maintained, instead a confused view of WF change which they saw as neither about changing social values nor the organization's performance and yet wished to satsify both.

In my mind, a bigger part of the problem at Public Service was the lack of attention given to really getting beneath managerial consciousness to get at the underlying interpretive schemes. With the other organizational examples, efforts were made to ensure value congruence and the behaviours needed to produce the desired outcomes. The banks held their managers behaviourally accountable. As I stated in Chapter 1 above, I am not stating that the banks actively took a feminist approach in planning their change program. However, they were inspired by Employment Equity legislation, changing demographic needs and related economic, political and social pressures to pursue WF change in the interest in profit and effectiveness. At Public Service the subject of uncovering gender bias in interpretive schemes and managerial consciousness was not considered an appropriate or even a desirable concern to anyone on the PAR team, except for me. The taken-for-grantedness of the gender-biased assumptions was clearly present at Public Service even within the group whose task it was to bring about change. I have cited many examples already. I have described Director B's reluctance to challenge the predominant management style. I have described how female members of the organization were effectively "gagged" by techniques supported by the predominant management style. I have described how Division D's director and managers blatantly discriminated against their female staff. All of these examples point to a profound need to get beneath managerial consciousness and explore the underlying interpretive schemes if WF change is ever to occur at Public Service. Efforts primarily concerned with organizational effectiveness was not be enough

at Public Service. Instead a more radical approach was required. In the next chapter, I move to confront this task. I consider gender-bias present in underlying interpretive schemes that perpetuate non-family-friendly practices, and as a result, block transformative second-order change. I refer to the gender bias present in the underlying interpretive schemes at Public Service as a form of patriarchy, as defined in Chapter 2 above.

CHAPTER 8. PATRIARCHAL INTERPRETIVE SCHEMES EMBEDDED IN PUBLIC SERVICE ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

8.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated above the purpose of this chapter is to get beneath managerial consciousness to focus on the gender bias found in WF barriers at Public Service. I consider the final research questions: What do the institutionalized barriers reveal about embedded assumptions contained in interpretive schemes at Public Service specific to: i) the continued separation of WF and ii) the image of the ideal worker.

8.2 WHY CONSIDER UNDERLYING PATRIARCHAL INTERPRETIVE SCHEMES?

At its most fundamental level, what the project at Public Service represents is a challenge to two basic organizing principles of work. I am referring to the primacy of the "ideal worker" who is assumed to be neutral and disembodied (Acker, 1992; Calas and Smircich, 1992; Mills, 1989; Pateman, 1988; Acker, 1990 and 1992), but who, at Public Service, is also most certainly male. I am also referring to the separation of WF (Sheppard, 1992; Acker, 1992) into public and private spheres of activity that define women's existence according to their role in the home. Cockburn (1991:76), provides a description of this problem.

> over and over again, ... what is problematized is women's relation to the domestic sphere. The way women do or do not fit into the schema of paid employment and organizational life is seen primarily as a correlate of their marital status and, more important still, whether they do or do not have children.

This distinction between both the public and private spheres and the prevailing world view maintaining that separation, work to obscure how WF issues are experienced, perceived, and formulated by men and women in the organization. The separation acts to reify the

social organization of industrial capitalism, making existing structural arrangements and underlying assumptions appear unquestionable (Sheppard, 1992) and neutral. But these assumptions are not neutral. Many scholars have questioned the gender neutrality of jobs, workplaces and organizations (Calas & Smircich, 1990; Ferguson, 1984; Hearn & Parkin, 1987; Mills, 1988; Mills & Tancred, 1992). Mills (1988) argues that people and organizational life are in a dialectical relationship with broader social values and that each is shaped and reshaped by the other. As I have documented above, Public Service females have clearly experienced other than neutral effects. Women were constantly reminded at Public Service that they were a problem, they did not "fit the mould."

The issue of WF itself was marginalized at Public Service when it was assigned to a lower level employee of the HR division of the organization. It was further subordinated when the workshops and symposia took place and the target groups were assumed to be lower-level women. In addition, the status of those encouraged to attend also reflected the low priority and lack of importance given to the project. The WF issue was most clearly marginalized during the flexible work schedule pilots. Only an extremely limited amount of flexibility was provided and virtually all employees who participated in the pilots were clerical-level females. The limited flexibility was coupled with the continuing control orientation of two female managers, who were in turn limited by their male directors in what they could and could not permit. The autonomy these female managers were given was very little. They, too, were subjects of male control. When things appeared to get mildly out of hand, that is, when other managers called about the flexible work schedule pilots, Director A introduced a further management control, namely attendance management.

The rationale for implementing an additional control was to allow managers to more effectively manage the "poor attendance of women". This action served as a reminder to

the participants as well as to the rest of the organization that management was still in charge and the existing control structures were unshaken. Even the selection of issues like attendance management, however, ignored important external factors. The WF program remained at the margins of what was considered central to the organization, such as control. The separation of men and women, WF, what was a serious organizational issue and what was not were all sharply focused through the implementation of management control supports. The threat or promise of the attendance management program worked to re-establish management controls in the minds of those worried about the slippage.

The separation of WF also acted to mitigate how workers saw and understood how men and women experienced the linkages between private-family and public-work domains. At Public Service, as in other organizations, men were expected to be ideal workers, to pledge single-minded work responsibility to the public sphere. Few were like R9, the male manager who dared to challenge the sanctity of the male ideal worker. More often, men did not question the expectations surrounding work. Many of them met after work for a beer at the Director's request on Friday nights. It was expected that all would participate. The fact that some men had family responsibilities was irrelevant. I heard one of the men who did not participate referred to as a "non-team player." The women who did not go to the bar, on the other hand, were excused. Family responsibilities were expected of women. I heard one male manager say with a shrug, "oh she had to pick up her child." The fact that such an individual may feel excluded from group activities due to the form they take, was not voiced. Women were expected to adjust their paid work involvement to meet their home responsibilities (Sheppard, 1988). Recall to the words of the male director in Division D as he very sharply defined the stereotypical female role. This role asymmetry continued hidden in most divisions with the exception of Division D. Some employees did speak up in response to the domination and oppression felt, but most remained silent. The episode regarding the reaction of the DM to acknowledge the brutal murder of several

young women was just another example of the complacency toward gender discrimination and what happens to those who speak inappropriately.

Traditional organization theories do not provide much support or impetus for organizational practitioners to behave otherwise. My personal experience conducting this study provides insight into the strength of patriarchal ideology embedded within organization theories and among those attempted to use such theories to explain organizational phenomena such as what occurred at Public Service.

During the early phases of this research, I relied on the more traditional organization theories to make sense of the Public Service data. I felt pressure to come up with performance and effectiveness criteria that fit with what organizational theories defined as an acceptable impetus for change. Although I wanted to consider gender biases directly, I was refused by the organization. I have made reference to my experiences with the PAR team regarding this problem above. Gender biases and resultant patriarchy remained an important consideration within my research agenda. I continued to look for measures of accountability, productivity, effectiveness, and absenteeism to measure the degree of change achieved. But I also kept careful fieldnotes of my experiences, perceptions, feelings, and observations regarding gender experience in the organization during this time. These issues did not figure into discussions around impetus, process, success or failure. In fact, I found it difficult to do a feminist analysis while relying fully on the more traditional perspectives. I soon realized that even though I was clearly aware of the problem, I, too, had subordinated WF issues, as by definition the theories I was using ignored important external influences defined outside of what were considered legitimate impetus for change. I re-discovered patriarchy in my analysis of the forms of resistance to WF change, public/private sphere separation, and the ideal male worker. I found myself doing theoretically what the organization did practically, succumbing to the conformity

pressures and ignoring the experiences of the silenced. This shortfall, however, I have since corrected through a re-examination of the data and of my analysis.

I am not suggesting here that a feminist critique of this literature does not exist, because certainly a growing literature does exist (Mills and Tancred, 1992; Calas and Smircich, 1990; Cockburn, 1991; deBruijn and Ceba, 1994). There is a growing interest in having women's voices heard, their experiences and standpoints counted (Smith, 1987; Gilligan, 1982). My dissertation research at Public Service grew out of similar interests.

The project at Public Service intended to challenge the gendered substructure that maintains rules prescribing patriarchal workplace practice and relations supported by underlying assumptions premised on the ideal worker and WF separation. Existing practice at Public Service obscured the underlying gender structure and practices perpetuating gender-based inequalities (Cockburn, 1991). The gendered biased substructure is crucial to consider, as it is linked to surface arrangements with gender relations evident in larger society, such as the separation of WF and male/female roles. What I mean is that there are underlying assumptions at Public Service, operating to guide, structure and reproduce subjects' experiences (Grant, 1993) of WF stresses and strain.

Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) draw from Morgan (1986; 178) to describe how rules segment opportunity structures that enable men to achieve positions of prestige and power more easily then women. Such rules operate to reproduce on a day-to-day basis the patriarchal reality that permeates organizational culture in less visible ways. To get beyond the taken-for-grantedness in organization member consciousness is therefore crucial, yet extremely difficult.

Rules shape decision-making, structure the exercise of power, and mark out organizational boundaries. Women at Public Service were silenced, not involved in decision making. I have described for example how I as a professional working in this organization was complimented on my appearance and ignored during important discussions. Extraorganizational rules shaped my expectations as a participant. Women encountered pervasive rules at Public Service such as 1) it's a man's world for example only men are expected to speak up and 2) it's man's work, particularly at higher levels of responsibility. Women predominantly occupied the lower-level clerical rungs of the organizational ladder. They were controlled, watched, told how to dress, assumed to be less-than-serious workers, abused sick-leave, were non-trustworthy, and not really in need of flexibility (save whatever might be required to avoid crowded elevators according to Director B).

8.3 PATRIARCHY AT PUBLIC SERVICE

8.3.1 Need for a Feminist Perspective

The consideration of resilient patriarchal interpretive schemes preventing second-order change in this chapter relates to the nature of the persistent interpretive schemes at work at Public Service. I have identified specific aspects of the patriarchal ideology that I found to be at work and some of the empirical consequences of the biased ideology.

In summary, I now draw from well developed ideas in the feminist literature regarding WF issues, women's roles in the work place and the separation of the public and private spheres of activity. The interpretive schemes operating at Public Service maintained the idea of continued separation of public and private spheres of activity as reflected in the organization of work, existing power distributions linked to occupational role distributions, and the history of operations. All of these structural features are laced with patriarchal assumptions regarding the family, male/female roles and the separation of public and

private spheres that act to block fundamental second-order change to the underlying interpretive schemes.

Clearly, all the approaches reviewed above failed to deal directly with the deep-rooted nature of gender inequality and the interconnectedness of different forms of gender discrimination expressed. Mainstream organization theories, particularly deinstitutionalization, may allow us to get close to underlying assumptions, but even this theory does not get close enough to adequately identify and change the ideas. Further, it is unlikely that alternatives to patriarchal assumptions will be entertained as they are a direct challenge to what is considered legitimate at Public Service. Patriarchal attitudes and the structures within which they are maintained are ideologically intertwined, and therein lies their greatest strength and persistence.

Most organizational theory perspectives do not fundamentally question the assumptions of patriarchy as they bear on the relationship between WF concerns and the contemporary structuring of work (Mills & Tancred, 1992). Instead they accept conventional definitions and valuations of WF and existing job categories. They fail to challenge the fundamental assumptions of male dominance, capitalism, and the utility of dividing manual from mental labour. The distinctions continue to rationalize a division of labour that is hierarchical and justifies the claim that those on top are those who know best (Jaggar, 1988). In contrast, those who are defined as peripheral or marginal to the organization by the dominant discourse remain silent and collaborate in this approach (Mills & Murgatroyd, 1991).

This is further complicated, notes Young (1988), through the discourse of liberal feminists who attempt to make changes in organizations and deny the reality of diverse groups. Liberal feminism developed in reaction to the exclusion of women from certain rights, equality of opportunity, and destined them to work the double day (Eisenstein, 1981).

Married women were assumed to be dependent on men economically, legally and emotionally. But while liberal feminists adopted the ideas of freedom of choice, individualism, and equality of opportunity, they did not self-consciously question the source of their exclusion in the first place. People are assumed to simply be categorized by race, gender, religion and sexuality as though these categories say something significant about an individual, and his/her experience, capacities, and possibilities. This approach obscures the differing forms of oppression that individuals in groups experience as well as differences within groupings. This allows as we have seen for blaming the victim and the ability to say that a disadvantaged person's choice and capacity renders them less competitive, able, or "ideal" as an employee. The structural and political avenue to truly change the lot of the disadvantaged is not present in the liberal discourse, since it seeks only to provide some individuals with a little help up the ladder, but leaves the ladder itself unchanged. We cannot, therefore, address in a meaningful way the exclusions, oppressions, and disadvantages of individuals brought about by patriarchal ideas without an alternative structural conception.

Patriarchy is therefore as a concept very important to analyze the forms of gender inequality found at Public Service (Cockburn, 1991; Mills & Tancred (ed.), 1992; Walby, 1990). We need to consider how a woman's individual psychology and the social structure of Public Service connect and the way gendered subjectivities and male dominance relate. This information exists beneath basic consciousness in the underlying interpretive schemes. I defined patriarchy in Chapter 1 as the systemic force privileging the male "ideal" worker and downgrading non-ideal female workers who are assumed to be encumbered with primary domestic or family concerns. This bias is embedded in the underlying interpretive schemes directing behaviour at Public Service.

However social reproduction, through patriarchy and capitalism, is not a complete explanation for what occurred at Public Service. Subjects at Public Service do not simply bear the structure imposed on them while they quietly suffer whatever injustice is thrust their way. Although many women at Public Service appeared to be beaten down by the oppressive management approach and inflexible work schedules, they were able to gain some personal autonomy within constraints. I saw people in Division D who were not allowed to speak to each other during working hours still manage to communicate. They all listened to walkman radios and tuned into the daily joke at 2 p.m. Once the joke was told, the group of women responded using a very elaborate non-verbal communication system that appeared to include deep belly laughter. It was a phenomenon most interesting to observe.

I could also clearly see a dialectic ocurring between individuals' experience of the oppressive organization and larger societal forces pressuring for change in treatment of employees (Mills, 1988; Due Billing and Alvesson; 1993) at work. Real human beings acted within a range of possibilities. Only when we go on to consider the potential of human agency can we start to grasp where forms of resistance such as those existing at Public Service might surface (Marshall, 1988). Butler (1990) notes that gender appears within the language as a substance, metaphysically speaking, as a self-identified being. There is always a doer behind every deed and that doer or agent subject to domination has to some extent however narrow, the power to transform the relations of domination.

At Public Service , I saw patriarchal hegemony operating, represented through an interpretive scheme that kept employees' public lives of work (assumed to be dominated by men) separate from employees' private lives of family (assumed to be dominated by women) (Sheppard, 1992; Due Billing and Alvesson, 1993). I heard women described as secondary workers, domestics, unreliable, delinquent users of sick leave, etc. They were

treated as subordinates, reminded of dress codes, watched, silenced and given lesser levels of responsibility. At one point, I was asked if I noticed how poorly women in Division D dressed themselves. I had not. It was suggested that I "pay attention in the elevator and see how overweight women dress like prostitutes." They were alleged to be wearing clothing too tight and therefore inappropriate for the office. For this reason Manager 1, responsible for employee relations was asked to draft a new dress code policy. Apparently, a woman in Division D was sent home to change her inappropriate tight clothing on the basis of this new policy while others in the division were put on notice.

Women's WF issues were considered illegitimate by the majority in the workplace. WF issues were instead described as "personal", and not to be accommodated by the workplace even under the auspices of "equity." Many women were reminded that there were other women were "in line" for their jobs if they were unhappy with the "way things were done." The implication was that they did not need to be working so if they were unhappy they could leave and others would gladly take their place.

Some managers thought that their female workers were unable to conform to the "rules," for example set work schedules. They were considered less valuable employees. It did not appear to any of these actors that the rules, a manifestation of patriarchal ideology, were at the source of the problem. Rules in organizations are taught in implicitly and explicitly distinct ways. They are loaded with attendant beliefs, values, and actor understanding. Rules thus control and govern behaviour, confrontations, etc. (Clegg, 1989). At Public Service, restrictive work schedules, dress codes, and lesser levels of responsibility due to non-maleness worked to restrict women's entry into better situations, filtered them into a narrow range of possible positions, and mirrored their subserviant domestic roles (Mills, 1992). In one incident the Director of Division D requested that all of his female managers perform with him during a Christmas presentation. He was to be surrounded by the female

managers dressed and dancing provocatively. In Division B, women were expected to dress up in silly costumes and act like children to raise money or serve their male colleagues. In the HR, Division C the younger women were strongly encouraged to team up with their male directors to compete in a jump rope contest. Female sexuality in all of these cases and several others was exploited, working to demean the women managers in front of the rest of the staff.

Obviously, the gender bias operating at Public Service had serious implications for the change project. We should have been giving this problem due attention during the planning, implementation, and evaluation stages. But, given the negative attitudes and ideas toward women, clear lack of commitment to the project by organization leaders, and the subordinate role of the HR implementing department, lack of change seems to instead have been the goal. Understanding this last fact does provide a way to challenge the biases and suggest new ways of accomplishing the WF change in future work, however.

8.3.2 Room for Improvements

Clearly the first problem at Public Service was the inability of the implementing group to recognize the importance of considering gender bias when designing and implementing the WF programs. This lack of attention was not because the issue was unknown. It resulted from the PAR teams lack of comfort with the concept. Although clearly many experienced difficulties with WF issues and bias, it was not acceptable at Public Service to speak of such issues. WF was not a management issue, it was a clerical staff issue. Further, the HR group and many of the managers I worked with were not comfortable with the words "patriarchy" or "feminist" or even "gender issues." This was interesting to me, since the WF project was originally the responsibility of the WC. In fact, I was told to be careful with my usage of such words. The workshop "Exploring Gender Bias in the Workplace" was purposely assigned to individuals who had very little background knowledge of the

issues, and who were largely non-supportive of organizational members. One facilitator was quoted as saying "I don't know why we are even doing this." Facilitators were purposely selected so that the majority of non-supportive organizational members were not offended.

The workshop Creating a Supportive Environment was another occasion where the issue of "management control" was not adequately addressed. Not only did we fail to acknowledge this crucial issue, but there appeared to be active efforts to undermine the success of even our limited efforts. The ADM of HR had grave problems with the WF project, a negative history with the organization's WC, political issues with the implementing team and his central personnel agency counterpart, and an overall lack of interest. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the department remained attached to a controlling management style.

In the previous two chapters, I discussed the failure to move Public Service from non-family-friendly to family-friendly status and the need to get beyond taken-for-granted assumptions in order to produce second-order change. Given the resiliency of patriarchy at Public Service and in larger society generally, deinstitutionalization, although potentially effective, is still entrenched in mainstream thinking and will likely not be enough to do the job. We still must deal with the ideal worker, the separation of work and family into public and private spheres, and the need to consider the definition of organizational performance and effectiveness, both built on those factors. Given the strength of this institutionalized ideology, it may be that the gendered substructure will only be changed with a fundamental reorganization of production and reproduction (Acker 1992), consideration of people as whole within whole organizations (Friedlander, 1994), and the domestication of men at home and at work (Cockburn, 1991) There is no room in this scenario anymore for a fetishized masculine career (Cockburn, 1991: 98). I do not have an easy answer for this

problem. And clearly contradictory arguments can be made using the Banks and other private sector organizations that successful WF changes appear to be in place. However, for WF change to be incorporated and deinstitutionalization to actually occur in organizations many feminist scholars have argued that we must privilege a deconstructive approach, a post-structuralist feminism of organizations (Calas & Smircich, 1990; Mills & Tancred, 1992). I think this may in fact be necessary for effective deinstitutionalization to actually occur particularly in organizations like Public Service. I have argued for the necessity to define WF issues in the form of social values as legitimate issues to engage in organizational change. I recommend that social issues be used in combination with the standard economic definitions of organizational effectiveness and performance. But in suggesting this, I also recognize that I am challenging fundamental organizing principles contained in work organizations and in organizational theory. Clearly this task will be extremely difficult and not for the weak of heart.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSIONS

9.1 WHAT DOES PUBLIC SERVICE TELL US ABOUT SECOND-ORDER CHANGE NEEDED TO PRODUCE FAMILY-FRIENDLY WORK ORGANIZATIONS?

As I have reported in the above chapters, a lot of activity occurred during the study period at Public Service. We can see from the programs implemented and evaluated that some interest was generated in WF issues and that some very minor changes occurred. For example, slight variations to work schedules were implemented. The barriers that Public Service maintained, however, were formidable and did not allow for a family-friendly organization to emerge. Instead, PAR's implementation strategy provoked resistance. It became clear that the underlying patriarchal interpretive schemes remained largely unchanged and, some might add, unchallenged or even reinforced. Basic, taken-for-granted assumptions contained in the underlying interpretive schemes regarding the separation of WF and the ideal worker remained safely entrenched.

The transition from a non-family-friendly to a family-friendly organization was unsuccessful. In some ways we could say that Public Service became a schizoid organizational form (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988), as a small number of employees held opposing and disparate views. We managed to alter and gain some acceptance for a modified flexible work schedule program and raised awareness on some of the issues through educational initiatives. But according to most employees, we did not successfully create a family-friendly workplace. The changes that we implemented were largely superficial. The organizational participants continued to complain bitterly that the workplace was not family-friendly and that our change efforts were ineffective. Morale remained low. Limited flexibility was available to some employees, but there was certainly

no larger sense of an organizational shift toward family-friendliness. A real shift would have required a demonstration of sustained commitment by the full management group.

With respect to actually altering underlying interpretive schemes regarding the separation of WF and the role of the organization in accommodating those with family issues, the status quo remained intact. There was no effective unfreezing of old institutionalized beliefs and only a mild dialectic between old and interpretive schemes (Bartunek, 1984) during the flexible work schedule pilot. The old interpretive schemes remained safely intact. Further, it is not even clear whether Public Service's family-friendly programs had anything to do with even the minute changes that occurred. Other powerful external political factors such as a leadership change and a declining economy occurred simultaneously interfering with the project.

Thus, the underlying interpretive schemes in question were not deinstitutionalized as a result of the WF project at Public Service. However, there were a number of managerial and non-managerial employees who continued to pursue informally family-friendly goals, despite the failure. Perhaps if we could have used the grass-roots level of support more effectively, we may have moved toward deinstitutionalization. But deinstitutionalization also requires firm leadership support , direction and accountability as well as support and commitment among employees. These were not available to us during the project. The other powerful intervening variables in the organization's immediate environment made such commitment impossible. The leadership change that occurred during the project paralyzed the organization's decision makers at a sensitive point when the beginnings of conflict between old and new interpretive schemes were occurring. We witnessed a retreat in support and an increasingly divided HR group. Our divisiveness signaled to other organizational participants not only that change was not very likely but that there was a real lack of commitment and clarity surrounding the project's goals. In addition, we were

inundated with managment's perception that we would receive negative public pressure regarding "extra benefits" if they were given to "lazy public servants." It seemed that the organization was able to espouse support for WF issues and change for society at large but not for public employees.

Most fundamentally, we were attempting to produce second-order change through first-order means. WF issues were not part of the organization's list of top priority internal organizational concerns. WF issues were "good times" issues. We had entered a "bad time" economically and politically. Even though we did not produce WF change due to these and the resistances noted, much was learned over the course of this project.

9.2 CONTRIBUTIONS OF WF CHANGE PROJECT FOR OTHER WORK ORGANIZATIONS

First, this project makes important practical contributions for organizations attempting to implement WF change. Underscored by my work at Public Service was the necessity of getting beneath taken-for-granted assumptions or the sub-conscious level around the separation of WF and public and private spheres of activity. I have documented how difficult WF change was to accomplish at Public Service. It is also important to note that to challenge the separation of WF requires us to question a fundamental premise upon which organizations are built. WF was, at one point in history, thought to exist as separate spheres, the assumption being that women worked in the home and men in work organizations. As I have documented in Chapter 1, both men and women participate in the paid labour force. Increasingly men are participating in the home but to date women still perform the majority of household duties. The separation of WF is no longer a realistic assumption. Many employees are combining WF today and need support and flexibility to do so more effectively. To produce a more holistic, self-conscious approach to WF, this research demonstrates that we need to begin by uncovering embedded biased assumptions.

Second, as a result of this research we recognize that WF issues must be considered legitimate issues in work organizations for future change programs to be successful. WF issues can be shown to have an impact, albeit indirect, on performance, morale, attendance and stress levels. Although these effects are indirect, they can be severe. Organizations used in the comparative analysis in Chapter 6, offer examples for us to learn from. The financial sector has shown us that some organizations can and are moving toward family-friendliness. Although I have not done extensive research on these organizations, they appear to be producing family-friendly changes within their organizations. The banks have placed staff dedicated to deal only with WF and performance issues. Performance incentives and behavioural expectations are linked to the new family-friendly direction. Managers in these organizations are held behaviourally accountable for how they treat employees. They appear to be conforming to the organization's new direction. Influential people supporting the new ideas have also been strategically placed throughout the organization. The reason for placing supportive people in this way is to generate further commitment and support among employees. The banks have managed to combine social concerns with effectiveness criteria. Further, the banks say that they are ensuring that all eligible employees have access to the programs. We know from the literature that even in where WF programs exist, not all employees have access due to an unsupportive supervisors and perceptions about being less serious about a career . I cannot say whether or not the banks have managed to alter these problems. Given their efforts to date, I am hopeful. As demonstrated through the comparative analysis, work organizations can take a lesson from the banks' successes and from Public Service's failure. These organizational experiences all contribute to practitioner knowledge.

I have shown that employees will potentially benefit when biased interpretive schemes are truly challenged. Silenced employees may regain their "voice" through the legitimation of

their WF experiences. Employers may begin to hear and learn from their full workforce and potentially realize full performance of that workforcee. If and when WF change does occur, we may witness a paradigm shift: organizations may then conceive of whole persons within whole organizational systems.

9.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF PUBLIC SERVICE'S WF CHANGE TO ORGANIZATIONAL THEORIES OF CHANGE

By examining the barriers and supports affecting change through different theoretical perspectives, we learn a great deal more about the content of change, the process of change, organizational politics and structures, and deeply-held attitudes in the workplace. We can also learn much in terms of the depth and breadth of change required and the importance of considering organizations as whole systems that contain whole and different people. I have already shown how the knowledge gained as a result of this study adds to existing research in practical terms by allowing us to self-consciously design better WF programs. There are also some important theoretical contributions to note.

Resistance to WF issues and change remains an interesting theoretical problem. Such resistance appeared to exist throughout Public Service. It may be that if the forms of resistance at Public Service remain strong, atrophy of the existing structures and practices and eventual deinstitutionalization to produce a family-friendly organization will never occur. In connection with this point, it should be noted that Public Service no longer exists as it did during the study period due to massive restructuring and downsizing initiatives. Unlike the financial sector, where support for change did exist, more drastic measures may be required in public organizations like Public Service, where commitment was not strong but public opinion was.

If we are to actually achieve deinstitutionalization at an organization like Public Service, this research shows that given the entrenchment of the oppositional hegemonic views, it may be necessary to go completely outside of the theoretical framework and work harder to understand the forms of ideas giving rise to that resistance. To achieve this end, I think we have to go beyond the organizational change theories of Hinings and Greenwood, Bartunek, and Oliver completely and invoke a more critical perspective. I have started drawing from Cockburn's (1991) perspective to superimpose a feminist perspective on these organizational theories of change. But due to the strength of the entrenched ideas working against WF change at Public Service and against feminist ideas in this organization generally, I think we need first to achieve a more deliberate analysis of underlying interpretive schemes. What I mean here is that we need to fully understand the interpretive schemes to show where the biases are operating. A more fruitful place to start, then, is to deconstruct the embedded interpretive schemes to reveal the intricacies of power, domination and coercion working to perpetuate the continued separation of WF and public/private spheres premised on an "ideal" male worker.

In order to produce WF change, this research shows that we need to deliberately combine changing social values with organizational performance and effectiveness measurement criteria. Deinstitutionalization theory provides for this combination of criteria. The Body Shop and Family Service organization provide evidence that this combination of criteria work very well. But we do not have evidence that selling changing social issues, particularly WF to public sector organizations will be as easy to sell as effectiveness criteria are to organizations. There is no bottom line to drive such recognition.

Public Service was attempting to create organization change through an HR division to provide for a flexible and family supportive working environment. The practical goal was to improve WF integration for the employees of the organization while improving

productivity, morale, attendance, and well-being. As part of my role in the organization, it was my task to implement and evaluate the actual program once designed. I evaluated the WF program both in terms of its relative success in alleviating WF concerns at Public Service and in terms of how this program compared to other change programs described in the organization change literature. I questioned the nature and introduction of the program as a reflection of the organization's business and the impacts of introducing such a program through a HR division. I have highlighted the importance of the strategic HR challenge in bringing human beings forward as "truly" the most important organizational resource. Unfortunately at Public Service as with many other organizations, this statement remains largely false. Similarly, the HR function does not emerge as a full strategic partner in the change efforts at Public Service. This is hardly surprising given my earlier discussion of women's treatment at Public Service. Most employees in the HR Division were female, except for the Directors and some of the management team. What we saw at HR was that they served the organization to perpetuate the underlying patriarchal interpretive schemes they intended to change. Once again we see clearly the "real" value put on human resources. This poses a direct challenge for the Strategic Human Resource Management literature that claims HR is moving into a time where they can be equal strategic partners given the weight placed on human beings as the "most valuable organizational resource" (Butler et al., 1991; Downie and Coates, 1994; Betcherman, 1994).

I took some steps forward theoretically by adding to the organizational change theory perspective, a theoretical framework developed to understand the Public Service data collected and the lack of change occurring. More specifically, this research contributes by enhancing extant organization theory by offering a feminist critique of existing embedded patriarchal ideas that prevented meaningful, transformative organizational change. I suggest that first, the change was unsuccessful as it attempted second-order change through first-order means. To change underlying patriarchal interpretive schemes, second-order

change, or in practical terms a program with "teeth" is needed. It is underlying patriarchal interpretive schemes that produce and maintain the continued separation and illegitimacy of WF as an issue, public and private spheres of work, and the idea of the ideal male worker. I have described the value and success of using deinstitutionalization from a feminist perspective to more deliberately produce second-order change. In using this approach, we can continue to actively combine the traditional effectiveness and performance criteria with changing social values to produce second-order change to interpretive schemes. Examples of how that might be accomplished were commented on throughout the comparative analysis using self-proclaimed family-friendly businesses.

Only when we can challenge patriarchy fundamentally to reveal embedded bias operating within work organizations, can we move on to ensure a family-friendly design archetype. To ensure success of the family-friendly archetype will require primary recognition of the need for transformative second-order change to fundamental patriarchal organizing principles. The organization itself will be transformed into a new organization once such a change has been completed. Change of this level and magnitude requires absolute, sustained commitment due to its fundamental nature. Given the entrenchment of patriarchal ideology at Public Service, change at the second-order is the only type of change that would have altered anything there.

Earlier I suggested that to produce second-order change, we need to get beneath the basic taken-for-granted assumptions. I have suggested that deinstitutionalization is one way to accomplish this task but, at the same time, it may be an unlikely route for some organizations. Instead, we may have to back up further due to the deep embeddedness of patriarchy and use a different approach. Deinstitutionalization may not yet be possible in the short-term. I have suggested in this research that it may be more fruitful to look at

deconstructing patriarchy within work organizations to provide a more thorough consideration of the problem at its core prior to active deinstitutionalization.

In the end, I have gone back to the beginning and have sought to consider the factors driving and blocking second-order change and deinstitutionalization of interpretive schemes as revealed at Public Service. I finish now by proposing a new framework for future research drawing from but, not combining the knowledge gained from these incommensurable approaches using: 1) feminist deconstruction, 2) deinstitutionalization, 3) organizational theories of change. This framework contributes by specifying that we first reveal interpretive schemes in their intricacies, then plan and implement changes to the interpretive schemes through deinstitutionalization to allow for the development of a more thorough and effective WF organization change programs. This will only be possible if we storm the existing paradigmatic barriers around what constitutes a legitimate organizational change impetus and how one approaches the change process in an organization. Only then will the development of programs be able to accomplish real and sustained WF change of the second-order.

9.4 FUTURE CRITICAL WF RESEARCH

My plan for future work in this area is to take apart the forms of power, domination and coercion privileging the ideal worker and perpetuating the separation of WF into public and private spheres. To do so, I will continue to develop ideas from Oliver (1992) and Cockburn (1991). In addition, I will also draw from the critical works of Mumby (1988), Lukes (1974), Giddens (1979), Clegg (1989), Habermas (1972), and Mills et. al. (1991, 1992). These authors allow me to explore hegemonic discourse and meaning construction of relations of power more thoroughly. Again, I do not plan to combine metatheoretically incompatible perspectives, but will rather draw from their insights on certain topics to inform my inquiry.

To illustrate some of my thoughts on this, the following represents important insights from these authors. Mumby, explains his theory of organization culture by incorporating issues of power as domination and ideology to understand how meaning arises in organizations. He (1988:31-51, 89-90) describes organizations as task- oriented entities where social actors operate within a structure characterized by the degree to which organization practices are taken for granted and treated as routine. Culture ideologically structures the interests of stakeholders by privileging certain interests (most often managerial and patriarchal) over others (most often the non-ideal female workers).

Power is thus conceived as domination and exercised by structuring group interests into organization activities. Domination occurs when particular organization interests come to define the process of organizing. This perspective takes us beyond the behavioural view of power relevant in organizational theorizing and shows how individuals can exercise power by virtue of their hierarchical positions. No conscious decision making or oppression by any one individual over another needs to take place for this type of domination to occur. Domination is socially structured and culturally patterned in relations between groups and practices of institutions manifested through individual inaction. The most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent conflict from arising in the first place, as in Public Service, by silencing the subordinated non-ideal female workers. Who will speak, when they believe that they have no legitimate voice?

The power interest theme can be further developed by presenting an overview of Habermas' (1972) work. Habermas' knowledge constituting interests and universal pragmatics inform the study of communication and domination in organization cultures and underlying interpretive schemes. Habermas allows for an examination of culture in terms of the mediation of social knowledge through power interests. The problem in applying

this critical perspective to organization communication is that it is fundamentally incompatible with managerial notions of organizational communication. Few managers or men are likely to agree that organizational interests are unfairly biased in their favour as an elite category. Nor are they likely to prefer a fully participative style for all decisions and equal access to rewards. Forms of resistance from those in power as well as those silenced are important to study. In contrast to mainstream approaches which are unable to fully acknowledge all social subjects, Clegg (1991) states that a critical approach can directly deal with the experiences of all members, the powerful and the silenced.

An adequate treatment of power used by many organizational actors is important ,given Public Service's change project and its inherent but unacknowledged feminist critique of patriarchal assumptions. In most functionalist and interpretive organizational theories, power is treated conservatively as a process to maintain and stabilize hierarchy. Hinings and Greenwood, Bartunek, and Oliver's studies above combine interpretive sociological elements in theorizing that allows power to be characterized as relations between individuals and groups. Power is thought to determine the outcome of a group's effort in accordance with values, interests, beliefs, and institutionalized procedures even in the face of opposition. But power is also used to prevent particular individuals and groups from even raising their issues in the first place (Walsh et.al., 1981). Mainstream organizational change theories miss the importance of confronting the type of power and domination we are referring to here due to embedded biases. Ignored, in particular is the question of how power is used to dominate and repress some members. Missing is any description of the forms of domination inherent in the organization's structure and ideology (Clegg and Dunkerly, 1980).

Power and ideology are inseparable, as power is embodied in systematically distorted communication and the coercive production of false consciousness. The exercise of power

is therefore considered intrinsic to any and all of an organization's activities. To explain this, I will incorporate Gidden's (1979) idea that organizations enable members to reach their goals, develop values, and construct alternative versions of reality. Agency and structure are therefore interdependent considerations. The structural nature of the organization is regarded as both the medium and the product of practice that constitutes the organization.

Lukes (1974) integration of power to perpetuate group interests provides a necessary link between power and ideology. Lukes takes apart latent conflicts, unrealized due to structural contradictions. Power is not simply part of an organization's structure but both the medium and outcome, enabling and at the same time constraining. Power is the product of organizational activities and process. Organizational interaction is not something that takes place merely within the power structure, but rather a process through which the power structure is created, reproduced, and changed by organizational symbolism. Thus, it is unlikely that changes supporting WF programs will occur without a taking apart of the dominant patriarchal ideology at work. Through Mumby's work we can examine patriarchal power and advantage and issues surrounding it within the context of a particular organization's culture and meaning formation such as that of Public Service.

To begin to consider why WF program change such as that illustrated at Public Service is unlikely, I will focus further on the concept of ideology inherent in culture. Here culture works as the connector between the organization's interests and practices. An adequate conception of ideology therefore must consider its role both in creating the subjectivity of organization members and in obscuring the systems of domination characterizing the organization's power structure. Ideology is rooted in the everyday practices of actors. Social reality is produced and reproduced through the interlocking and structured practices of subjects. Ideology functions to articulate the boundary conditions of subjects' social

reality and the mode of rationality between organizational practices and structures of organization interests. Power and ideology thus serve, according to this critical perspective, as the fundamental organizing principles in culture that consistently reproduce those organizational conditions favouring managerial interests.

The grounding of ideological meaning formation acts as both the medium and product of organization practices. Hegemony, then, operates when social reality is taken for granted and supported by organization members. I have used the term hegemony above in my discussion of patriarchal bias embedded in an organization's structures and ideas creating institutionalization and a cultural impediment. Hegemony is perceived as rational and then reified by obscuring contradictions that might challenge its pervasiveness. Another example of hegemony is the bureaucracy that functions ideologically as a faceless, objective part of organization sorting members and structuring jobs. Actors are confronted by a bureaucratic process that presumably discriminates against no-one, yet contain patriarchal assumptions about the ideal worker and divisions into private and public spheres. The workings of bureaucracy help to obscure the structure of domination, hiding the nature and origins of power established by certain individuals, groups or classes to implement certain goals. Through this mechanism it is possible to produce and reproduce the decentralized, pluralistic structure. Bureaucracy is therefore an element of culture that allows individuals to make sense of their and others' powerlessness. It is easy to be victimized by a system that no one has control over or can change to reflect equity and fair treatment. Managers can use the inadequacies of the system to deflect responsibility for organizational problems or to make arbitrary interpretations of WF programs, as they did at Public Service.

Clearly to use such different approaches to consider the priviliging of the ideal worker and the perpetuation of WF and public and private sphere separation has important methodological implications. The nature of research required by this critical perspective is

somewhat different from that dictated by the theoretical framework above. The role of the organizational researcher is now to expose and critique the process by which particular organizational ideology produces and reproduces a corresponding structure of power within it. These requirements were not fully accounted for at Public Service, so the alternative approach cannot fully be used in this study. The PAR team would have had to (1) allow for a description of the process of sense-making, (2) uncover deeper structures of patriarchal power relations acting to determine practices and processes, and (3) provide insights into them.

The methodological process of deconstruction would expose the obscuring contradictions and demonstrate how the contradictions create disjunctures in the continuity of experience that the ideological discourse attempts to portray. Deconstructive interpretation acts to politicize the act of reading/listening, problematizes the interpretive process, and exposes the degree to which the dominant ideological meaning structures, or what I refer to as interpretive schemes, produce a sense of experiential closure. Meaning, interpretation, domination and discourse in this approach are therefore inextricably linked. Clearly, there is merit in this approach for further research surrounding the creation or lack thereof regarding family-friendly workplaces.

Work in the tradition of critical theory is instructive in articulating more clearly the role of agency in reproducing and transforming the structures of domination (Marshall, 1988). Much feminist theorizing incorporates a strategy of critique: interpretive and genealogical moments that exemplify anti-positivist methodology, critique the hegemony of western 'reason', rethink the notion of a coherent, pre-existing subject and retain a strong affinity to critical theory. Eisenstein (1988), for example, employs techniques borrowed from poststructuralism to show how liberal discourse constructs women as not-men. Fraser (1989) uses discourse analysis to illuminate the construction of needs. In both cases,

genealogy and interpretation interact, providing rich insights about the micro-processes of power within a larger socio-historical context.

Critical theory, as with the organizational theories of change used in this dissertation, has also been criticized as being underdeveloped with respect to gender, since it reflects liberal notions of individuality and freedom of choice. However, if we use a critical feminism, using insights from the authors just discussed with the organizational theories of change above, we may illuminate the relationships between knowledge, power and politics while exploring the cultural aspects of the perpetuation of inequality in organizations. Morgan (1992: 172), notes that we must pay attention to the insights of different perspectives because:

> sociology that ignores the question of gender is simply, bad sociology. And similarly, and more profoundly, a sociology that does not continually examine critically its own processes by which what counts as sociological knowledge is being produced is untrue to the critical strands within the sociological tradition.

By the same token, I think it crucial to develop a critical feminism in organizational theories of change to really examine underlying interpretive schemes. Through such a creative tension, new avenues of exploration may be revealed and perhaps the way for "real" ideological change may at last be exposed. I can only ask in closing, why not?

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APPENDIX I

PROTOCOL - DIVISIONAL MANAGER MEETINGS AND FOCUS GROUPS

(recite to prospective participant(s) when calling to arrange meeting. Use again in preamble to the interview so they are clear)

Hello, my name is Deborah Hurst. I am working for the Human Resources Division at Public Service. In this capacity I am responsible for developing an organizational change strategy for implementing programs that respond to the survey. I am also working on a university research project for which I will be using these data.

I hope to meet you if you agree regarding your opinions and ideas on the most frequently mentioned programs highlighted by the survey. I want to find out from you what you think of the program and how you think it will fit within your division. I know you are very busy so, I'm sending you a summary of the survey results and what exists now for your review. (If too busy for an interview, offer to send protocol to use like a questionnaire and answer but, not preferable).

During our meeting, I would appreciate it if you would answer my questions as openly and as honestly as possible. Rest assured that your responses will be kept anonymous and confidential. No one else in the Department will see any of my notes of the interview/focus group and I will not refer in my written reports to anything that you have said that would allow you to be identified personally.

You will be provided with a summary report of my findings once I have finished all my interviews and focus groups. If you want further information, you can contact me at ____.

This meeting will take approximately one half hour to three quarters of your time.

(If focus group is used)
This focus group will take approximately two hours of your time.

I hope to talk to you again later once we have had some experience with the implementation of some or all of the programs. If at any time you find my questions uncomfortable, it is your right to choose not to answer.

Do you have any concerns or questions about anything I've said so far? Can we proceed?

The three main program areas highlighted by the survey results are career development, work and family issues, flexible work hours and the overarching concern regarding flexible and supportive working environments. We recognize that these programs areas potentially mean different things to different people and differences between divisions. So, I need to learn from you what your thoughts are with respect to each of the program areas.

(Survey results information sent ahead of interview/focus group to participants for review)

Protocol
(probe questions - opinion, think, feel)

1. What is your opinion of the career development programs (ask opinion about each new program separately using all parts of question) :

   -admin support - assertiveness training - communication skills
   -professional and mgt staff - in-house mentoring

2. Do you think these programs are needed in your division?
   Why/why not?

3. What impact do you think this programs will have in your division?
   Why/why not?

4. What can be done to tailor career development programs to the needs of your division?

5. Describe what you think will occur as a result of the introduction of this program.

6. What is your feeling about the addition of employee career development to the organization's business generally?

7. What is your opinion of management training to create flexible, supportive and non-biased working environments?

8. Do you think these programs are needed in your division?
   Why/why not?

9. What impact do you think this programs will have in your division?
   Why/why not?

10. What can be done to tailor management training to create flexible, supportive and non-biased working environments to the needs of your division?

11. Describe what you think will occur as a result of the introduction of this program.

12. What is your feeling about the addition of management training to create flexible, supportive and non-biased working environments to the organization's business generally?

13. What is your opinion of the possibility of introducing flexible work schedule programs in your division?

14. Do you think these programs are needed in your division? Why/why not?

15. What impact do you think this programs will have in your division? Why/why not?

16. What can be done to tailor flexible work schedule programs to the needs of your division?

17. Describe what you think will occur as a result of the introduction of this program.

18. What is your feeling about the addition of flexible work schedule programs to the organization's business generally?

19. How do you feel about introducing any or all of these new programs in your division? (rephrase for ees - How would you feel about the introduction ...)

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX II

FOLLOW-UP MEETING PROTOCOL

I met with you on _____ to discuss the project that I was working on at the time with the Human Resources Division of Public Health. The implementation project was based on the survey data collected by the department's women's program, my own observations from the Central Agency's WF efforts, departmental visits, focus groups and our previous meeting.

The areas I focused on before included career development programs, work and family and overall well-being. To provide assistance in these areas we attempted to raise awareness or educate staff regarding work and family issues through the central agency's symposia series, provided support in implementing flexible work schedules, developed and piloted new training programs on Creating Supportive Working Environments and Exploring Gender Role Biases in the Workplace.

At our previous meeting, I asked you to comment on what you thought of the programs in terms of the like-li-hood of their success. Now that it has been _____ months, I'd like to ask you some follow-up questions.

Protocol
(probe each question - opinion, think, feel)

1. Were you aware of the _____ program? (repeat for each program initiative)

2. Did you see any evidence of the program impact on the org? individual ees in the org as a result of new program?

3. What do you think enhanced impact? inhibited impact?

4. In your opinion, were these programs necessary? (probe)

5. What kind of information about the survey did you receive from your management team? Would you have liked more? If so, what type? (probe)

6. About the same time as these programs were introduced, employee relations of the personnel services branch introduced an attendance management program. Were you aware of this program?

7. Did you receive information and training about this program? If so, was the information adequate for your needs in the division?

8. Did you think this E.R. initiative fit with the other initatives introduced at the same time? for example did it fit with flexible work schedules, creating supportive environments etc. (ask one at a time) Why/why not? (probe here)

9. Did the environment at the time have an impact on any of the programs mentioned? If so, in what way?

10. Now I want to ask you some questions about Public Service as a whole. When the new programs were introduced, did you sense that there was a connection between the direction of the new programs and the department's overall strategic plan?

11. What actions are needed in your opinion to show a connection between an organization's strategic plan and new programs such as the ones we are talking about today?

12. If you had to introduce new programs for w/f, flex and supportive work envs., how would you do it?